THE

# POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, & FINANCIAL

# CONDITION

OF

# THE ANGLO-EASTERN EMPIRE,

IN 1832.

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THE

POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, & FINANCIAL

CONDITION

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OF

# THE ANGLO-EASTERN EMPIRE, IN 1832;

AN ANALYSIS

OF ITS

## HOME AND FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS,

AND A

PRACTICAL EXAMINATION

OF THE

## DOCTRINES OF FREE TRADE AND COLONIZATION,

WITH REFERENCE TO

THE RENEWAL OR MODIFICATION

OF THE

## HON. EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.

---

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"*The Past and Present State of the Tea Trade of England and of the Continents of Europe and America, &c.*"

Martin, Robert Montgomery, 1803?-1868

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TO THE

# PROPRIETORS OF EAST-INDIA STOCK.

Gentlemen :

The deep interest which you have at stake in the prosperity and continued connection of the eastern and western empire of Great Britain, has induced me to do myself the honour of dedicating to you the following pages.

The experience derived from passing one-third of my life in the Asiatic hemisphere, as an officer in his Majesty's Service, or as a private individual; the knowledge obtained by visiting every quarter of the globe, and nearly all the foreign possessions of this country, and the relinquishment of my profession several years ago for the purpose of

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acquiring an intimate knowledge of the commercial and political power of England, aided by an ardent desire to contribute my mite towards promoting the happiness of my fellow creatures, are my credentials for appearing before the public in order to aid in obtaining a dispassionate consideration of the momentous questions about to be submitted to the determination of Parliament.

With this object in view, I have analysed every disputed topic relative to the home and foreign affairs of India, aiming as much as possible at impartiality, for I am free to avow, that the evidence elicited by the Select Committees of Parliament has weakened previous impressions on my mind; and, without diminishing my respect for those who pertinaciously adhere to priority of opinion, that testimony has at least necessitated me to scrutinize more narrowly my own thoughts, and to deliberate more calmly on the wisdom or expediency of several proposed measures.

In a stormy period like the present, when men are almost compelled to form quick and energetic decisions, it is impossible to avoid being in some

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degree swayed towards either side of an argument involving, not merely the ulterior destiny of the United Kingdom and of Hindostan, but of the entire habitable world; where I err, therefore, it must be attributed to the fallibility of human judgment:—I do not, however, hesitate to assert, that now, when society is in a state of transition, when a direful contest has already commenced between absolute monarchy on the one hand, and eager aspirations for liberty on the other, and when the vast peninsula of Asia is for the first time within record or tradition in the enjoyment of peace, I range myself on the side of order, of civilization, and of freedom; but in doing so, I may be permitted to acknowledge, what indeed it would be futile to deny, that the East-India Company have materially contributed to enhance the commerce of this country, to enlarge extensively but safely the dominions of the Crown, and to advance the prosperity of one hundred million of its subjects.

That a vast and complicated government, which profound talent, local experience, and lengthened

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years, have thus far firmly consolidated, may not in laudable efforts to improve it, be rashly undermined, is the sincere wish of,

Your most obedient servant,

THE AUTHOR.

*Ivy Cottage, Highgate Hill,*
1832.

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THE

# POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND FINANCIAL STATE

OF THE

# ANGLO-EASTERN EMPIRE.

## CHAPTER I.

THE UNAVOIDABLE SOVEREIGNTY OF INDIA BY ENGLAND; —NECESSITY OF PREVENTING A FRENCH EMPIRE IN HINDOSTAN;—ATROCIOUS DESPOTISMS OF THE MAHOMEDAN, MAHRATTA, AND FEUDAL GOVERNMENTS, FROM WHICH THE HINDOOS HAVE BEEN RESCUED BY THE BRITISH NATION.

In contemplating the progress of Britain, from a small and insulated kingdom to a vast maritime empire, the annalist is compelled to seek some point whereon to rest, while reflecting on the events which conduce to the prosperity or decline of a nation; this historical landmark will be found at the period of the establishment of the East-India Company, an epoch when the commercial and naval power of this country emerged into active competition with surrounding rival states, each struggling for a monopoly of trade with the East, or for an extension of territorial dominion in regions which, to the eye of the poet, the philosopher, and the politician, presented the most glowing prospects of romance, of science, or of national aggrandizement.

At the close of the fourteenth century, the commerce and power of Genoa declined, while that of Venice increased



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by reason of the latter enjoying, unrivalled, a monopoly of the India trade;* but at the end of the fifteenth century, on the discovery of a new continent in the West, and of a maritime passage to the East, the monarchs of Spain and Portugal settled by treaty a division of the world† between their respective crowns.

By a tacit submission to these grasping projects the peninsula of Europe remained, during the sixteenth century, in the undisturbed possession of the valuable territories and lucrative commerce acquired by the Portuguese and Spaniards in Asia and America, until the destruction of the 'invincible Armada' by British heroism and skill, threw open the navigation of the ocean; and the subsequent establishment (in 1600) of '*one bodie corporate and politique*' for trading to the East-Indies, by one of the most prudent and patriotic sovereigns that ever wielded the English sceptre, laid the foundation of that wonderful superiority which has made—

"Britannia need no bulwark,—her home is on the deep."

It not being the intention of this work to detail the various events which terminated in the conquest of Hindostan, it will be sufficient to observe, that during the seventeenth century the East-India Company confined themselves almost entirely to commerce, for the possession of which a hazardous, and even warlike struggle was carried on with foreign nations, which was with difficulty preserved during the avaricious military republic of Cromwell, the dissolute reign of his successor, and the bigoted rule of a second James.

* *Via* Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople.

† The first stipulation of this extravagant agreement was, that all new-found countries to the northward of the Canaries should belong to Spain, and all southward to Portugal; a treaty was subsequently signed and sanctioned by Pope Julius II., by which the meridian of demarcation was removed 270 leagues farther west in favour of Portugal.

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The systematic acquisition of territory commenced with the eighteenth century, more particularly in 1741; when the ambitious M. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, involved the Company in the wars of the Carnatic, and in the affairs of the contending princes of the south of India.

At the close of the eighteenth century, England had irrecoverably lost her transatlantic dominions in the West; but the richness of her commerce with the East, the transcendent achievements of her subjects, and the powerful empire which they had wrested from the prostrate and inveterate foes of their country in a distant hemisphere, was deservedly alike the theme of universal astonishment and approbation; and now, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, after a deadly contest of years, and an immense expenditure of blood and treasure, the British influence is beneficially extended over the swampy Sunderbuns of Bengal and Arracan, the table-land of the Carnatic and Mysore, the fertile fields of Malwa, the arid plains of the Dûab, the jungly tracts of Orissa, the temperate region of Bahar, the lovely vales of the Deckan:—in fine, from the sacred Ganges and impetuous Burrampooter to the far-famed Indus and romantic-shored Nerbudda,—from the eternal snow-capt Himalaya, to the Indian ocean!—an empire spread over half a million square miles of the most fertile country on earth, with one hundred million of human beings subject to its sway, and over-canopying the ruins of the French and Danish territories, the insular and maritime supremacy of the Portuguese and Dutch, and the destructive dynasties of Ackbar and Tippoo Sultaun, of Sevajee, Scindiah, and Holkar!

Such being the extraordinary position of the Anglo-eastern empire, let us proceed to examine the causes which led to its establishment, and the advantages derivable therefrom to the natives of India, particularly as it is said



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that our occupation of Hindostan is "*a monstrous usurpation;*" that "*the East-India Company and their servants, armed as they were with power, and instigated by jealousy, have, from the earliest times to the present hour, been involved in quarrel, disturbance, and war with the natives of India, and who, to guard their own privileges, ascribe to others the outrages and disorders of which they themselves have been guilty.*"*

From the moment when Englishmen became possessed of a foot of land in India, dire necessity more than national aggrandizement impelled their advance to the sovereignty they now hold. The different kingdoms of Europe sought a preponderating balance of power, by the acquisition of dominion in Asia, and if England had refused to play for the extraordinary stake, which Napoleon wisely foresaw would place her at the head of the potentates of the earth, the commanding influence of her opinions and councils (whether for good or ill) would have expired with the last century. Not only, therefore, was there an imperious necessity to prevent, by every possible means, the domination of French authority in India or in Egypt, but there also arose the peculiar rights of *security and vicinage*, the enforcement of which became a matter, not merely of expediency or prudence, but of absolute requirement. Mr. Burke said and proved, that THE LAW OF NEIGHBOURHOOD "*is founded on the principle that no use should be made of a man's liberty of operating on his property, from whence detriment may justly be apprehended;*" if this principle be admitted in private life, which the daily occurrences in our police reports prove, how much stronger is it among nations in political society, inasmuch as the happiness of a community is of far greater importance than that of an individual!

* Rickards' India, vol. i. p. 81.

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The British settlements in Asia were surrounded by neighbouring states under the most arbitrary institutions; indeed, diametrically opposed to all rightly acknowledged principles of nature; governed by men of a restless, turbulent, and treacherous* disposition, who were little better than successful robbers, or cold-blooded assassins on an extensive scale; of consummate skill in *breaking* as well as *making* treaties; who admitted openly, that they considered war as a source of revenue,† and who vehemently sought to effect the complete expulsion of the English from India, by the most powerful home, as well as foreign armaments.‡ The latter were, therefore, in self-defence, unavoidably compelled, not only to adopt measures of precaution, but to fortify themselves against contingent danger, from men with whom no moral law was binding,§ no treaty

* The treacherous conduct of Tippoo Sultaun, in co-operating with the French, and stimulating every native power to rise simultaneously, for the purpose of "*utterly destroying the English in India*" (words of Tippoo's secret circular), at a moment when he was making the *greatest professions of friendship to our government*, is one instance out of many (the Peishwa's conduct is another) of the feeble reed we had to rely on, in the promises or faith of the native despots.

† The Mahratta chieftains, for instance, were always prepared for hostilities, and made *annual campaigns* into the districts which had not yet been brought into an actual state of servitude: these devastating excursions were denominated *Mul-uk-gherè*, a Persian compound of *mul-uk*, territory, and *gherè*, to take possession of. The state of the surrounding country may be readily conceived from such yearly visitants.

‡ The regular army of Scindiah, when he declared his "*determined resolution of extirpating the English*," consisted *of ten formidable brigades*, a well-served train of artillery consisting of *five hundred guns, and two hundred thousand cavalry*, all of which were more or less officered by experienced Frenchmen. The standing army of Holkar *while at peace* with us, was 150,000 cavalry and 40,000 well disciplined foot, besides numerous auxiliaries, among whom were the brave Rohillas, who offered to serve three years without pay, *for the sake of plunder*, when Holkar would attack the English.

§ The *pious* precept of the koran, which Tippoo held forth to the Mahomedans throughout Asia, to induce them to join his standard in "*a holy war against the English infidels*," (Tippoo's secret circular,) consisted of that passage which declares that, "THE HIGHEST MERIT IN THE SIGHT OF GOD IS TO MAKE WAR AGAINST INFIDELS!"

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permanent,* and with whom *might* was at all times right.

Such being the character of the aggregate of the Indian princes, we may imagine, even without the aid of history, what was the basis of their governments.

The Mahomedan dynasties were built on usurpation, cemented with the blood of the feeble and innocent, and maintained by sequestrating the riches of the wealthy;—the policy of the Moslems in Asia, and indeed in every country where they obtained a footing, was complete subjugation, universal dominion, and uncontrolled despotism;—their ruling principles were avarice, sensuality, an imposing pageantry,† and a conversion to the faith of the Koran.

The Mahratta territories were considered as predatory acquisitions, to be held only by the sword, for with the wily and aspiring Brahmin war and plunder were the two great sources of revenue;‡ hence the quartering of a Mahratta army in a province was more destructive than myriads of locusts, or years of drought and pestilence; while of their rulers it has been truly observed, that their musnuds were their horse-cloths, their sceptres their swords, and their dominions the wide line of their desolating marches.§

* Lord Cornwallis tried in vain to introduce the principle of European treaties into Indian diplomacy, the failure of which is exemplified in the triple alliance between the British Government, the Nizam, and the Peishwa; while the system of *defensive subsidiary alliances*, from not being, until of late, carried far enough, was equally unproductive of beneficial results.

† A deep knowledge of the infirmities of our nature, prompted the Moors in Spain, as well as in India, to captivate the weak minds of their subjects, by works of splendid architecture, which, after the lapse of centuries, remain as monuments of the daring genius and slavish submission of the conquerors and of the conquered.

‡ The reign of Alia Bhye is a noble exception: but it is such a solitary one as only to place *her* virtues, and the vices of other rulers, in more striking relief on the historical canvas.

§ The Mahrattas yearly sacrificed to each of their war-horses a sheep,

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The small principalities which existed in different parts of Hindostan,* were in some measure a compound of the two foregoing governments, with the addition of constant jealousies, disputes and war; thus the ploughman was invariably seen armed at his rustic occupation, and the shepherd, while peacefully tending his herds, always prepared for the battle-field.†

Each and all of these governments framed their system of politics on the cunning or adroitness with which they could foment dissension among their rivals or neighbours; money became the essence of power, for their armies were chiefly composed of mercenary troops who knew no other fidelity than their pay, and, as was the case with the Prætorian guards, Strelitz and Janissaries throned and dethroned whom they pleased, or served those best who rewarded them with the highest largesses. The truth of the foregoing account cannot be denied by Mr. Rickards himself, as the following dreadful depictations of Indian despotisms, which I extract from an appalling variety of massacres and rapine in Mr. Rickards' work, will prove; and I think that after perusal the reader will agree with me, that it is a matter of astonishment as well as regret, how Mr. Rickards could have penned these eloquent but horrible details, and yet declare that "wars, usurpation, and rapine, equal to any thing in the preceding ages, have marked the rise and progress of the British dominions in India!"

sheep, and sprinkled it with the blood; and at the festival which took place after annually taking the field to collect *chout* (tribute), the chiefs cut each a handful of corn with his sword, to denote the predatory object of the undertaking

* The word 'Hindostan' is used throughout this work to signify the whole peninsula of Asia.

† Throughout the western provinces of India the long continued fears of the peasantry have not yet subsided sufficiently to allow of their appearing abroad unarmed.

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*Mr. Rickards' description of the Mahomedan dynasties in India.*—" Throughout the whole period of the Mahomedan ascendancy in the south, the same enormities, the never-failing accompaniments of their presence and power, are recorded to have been uniformly and unceasingly perpetrated, as have been already described in the northern provinces.*

" To review the occurrences of this period, would only be to give further examples of the same unprovoked and devastating warfare, the same struggles for power, the same unbridled thirst of conquest, the same *perfidy, treason, and private assassination;* the same disregard of any tie, whether of nature, of honesty, or of honour, and the same persecution, oppression, and massacre of the Hindoos.

" The scenes, indeed, of butchery and blood, are often mentioned as too horrid to relate—*thousands—twenty—seventy—a hundred thousand souls being sacrificed at one time,*† without the least remorse.‡

" The treasuries of these southern princes were always filled from the enormous plunder of their defenceless subjects; and the system of Mahomedan exaction, sometimes under the name of contribution, but permanently under that of revenue, being every where the same, with the

* It is impossible to quote the hundred preceding pages, in which Mr. Rickards details the most revolting barbarities of the Mahomedans towards the Hindoos; the cutting off the noses of thousands at a time, maiming them in every shape, whipping to death, women devouring their own children in agony, and myriads upon myriads during the *eighteenth century*, wantonly slaughtered in cold blood.

† Mr. Rickards speaks in several places of it being " no uncommon thing for 50,000 and 100,000 souls to be massacred at once, in which neither sex nor age were spared;" and of the blood of the most venerable priests, learned men, and citizens, being used for tempering the earth with and plastering the city walls!

‡ Mahomed, son of Alla-ud-deen, " one of those southern monsters," died, it is true, acknowledging " all is vanity," but not until after gratifying during his life " every sensual passion, slaughtering 500,000 persons, and ruining and depopulating the Carnatic."

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power of rapacious armies every where to enforce it, the fate of the unhappy people was here, as in the north, stamped with the same wretchedness. There was no security for person or property; the latter more especially was always a fair object of seizure whenever it was known to exist,* and the mass of the people were thus reduced to a state of poverty from which there was no escape, and of violence and oppression against which there was no redress."†

What a revolting description of despotism is the foregoing delineation of a Mahomedan dynasty! While perusing it the blood curdles in the veins, and the genial current which in general flows around the heart, becomes almost frozen in its course. Yet Mr. Rickards has the hardihood (I will not give it a worse term) to say that "the causes which first sunk, have *ever since continued* to keep down the many in the lowest depths of degradation and wretchedness;" that "improvement was impracticable where fire and sword were the moving principles of every existing government;" and that "every change has been to the people, but a change of oppressors!"‡ While in another place Mr. Rickards observes, after stating that the "loose principles of banditti were, on a larger scale, those of the Asiatic courts for seven or eight centuries; whoever has a taste for atrocities of this nature; for details of lawless rapine, and wholesale butchery of the species; for flaying and impaling alive, and every species of torture;

* Even to the present day the Hindoos have not entirely got over the dread of being known to possess money, or of having gold and silver utensils. Vast sums of money remain buried in the earth from generation to generation, and not unfrequently a sudden death deprives the inheritor of treasure, of a knowledge where it lies concealed. Those who have conversed with wealthy natives can confirm me in this particular.—R. M. M.

† Rickards' India, vol. i. page 223.

‡ Ibid. p. 220.

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*for hewing living bodies to pieces;* for massacreing prisoners in cold blood, and making hillocks of their bodies, and pyramids of their heads for public shew; for hunting down the inhabitants of whole provinces like wild beasts; with other like modes of royal amusement, may be feasted to satiety in the history of the Mussulman conquests and governments of the Deckan, which is little more than a continued series of those disgusting barbarities."*

It is indeed difficult to reconcile the numerous contradictions which the volumes before me present; at one moment the ravages of the Moguls are eloquently and feelingly narrated; and at another, their downfall is lamented with an—"Alas! the pageantry and ceremonials of imperial state now affected by Ackbar Shah, is but the wreck of fallen greatness, the poor remains of that wealth and splendour which was once the pride of the Mogul throne."†—Mr. Rickards will permit me to enquire, does he sigh over the departure of 'splendour' which, according to his own shewing, had its origin in the devastating conquests, or rather butcheries, commanded by the dynasty of Ackbar? or does he lament the dispersion of hordes of gold and silver, which were exacted by the cruelest tortures from a feeble but industrious peasantry? Away with such puling sentimentality; other and sterner times are arrived, when the happiness of a nation is considered of more consequence than the 'wealth and splendour,' with which the despicable pride of a Mogul, or any other despot, may

* Timour was justly denominated the "firebrand of the universe." The Westminster Review for July 1832, says he was "one of the greatest wholesale butchers of humanity ever heard of; he plundered and massacred in India, without distinction of religion or sex, and his track was marked by blood, desolation, famine, and pestilence!" Aurengzebe persecuted the Hindoos in a similar manner to the other Mahomedan tyrants; Tippoo Saib circumcised all the Brahmins he could get hold of, and, as the reviewer says, "subjected 60,000 christians to the same operation in a single province."

† Rickards' India, vol. i. p. 220.

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desire to uphold his tyranny with; when the true test of a monarch's greatness consists, not in the massiveness of his plate, the grandeur of his equipages, the number of his retinue, the splendour of his palaces, the costly pageantry of his guards, no, nor even in the glory of his victories, but in *the degree of domestic comfort which encircles the hearth of the meanest peasant;* and happy is it for India that the rulers who have won and worn the sovereignty thereof, have acted on this sublime principle, instead of ministering to the passions or vanity of a host of licentious, feeble, and cruel princes.* Mr. Rickards admits, that the Mogul emperor, whose fallen greatness he laments over, fearing to trust himself in the hands of the Mahrattas, or even of Abdallah, "after wandering a fugitive throughout the empire, fell into the hands of the English in 1764, who settled him at Allahabad with a district and a revenue of 38,00,000 rupees." This, Mr. Rickards must admit, was honourable treatment to a fugitive monarch, without a shilling or a subject. But Shah Allum, either through weakness or perfidy, joined the Mahrattas in a little time against the English,† and in 1803, as Mr. Rickards admits,

* At pages 148 and 149, Mr. Rickards thus describes a part of the Mogul proceedings in India: "The prisoners taken were inhumanly massacred; insurrections in the provinces were also incessant, so that *the work of war and blood was perpetual;* massacres were common to every reign, when the butchery extended, not only to the parties immediately concerned, but to their vassals, dependents, and even acquaintances; not even weeping mothers, nor their smiling infants at their breasts, were pitied or spared! To prevent the accumulation of property in a few hands, the wealth and estates of Musselmans and Hindoos were, without distinction, seized upon and confiscated; no man durst entertain his friends without a written permission from the vizier, and the different public offices were filled with men, whose indigence and dependence rendered them implicitly obedient to the dictates of government!"

† A Mahomedan historian famed for his impartiality, named Golaum Hossein Khan, is less tender than Mr. Rickards for the fate of the Great Mogul. In his able work, entitled "A View of Modern Times," he says, "when the Emperor Shah Allum was carrying on war

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the East-India Company again rescued the Mogul from poverty and imprisonment, fixed him at Delhi with the name and title of emperor, and a revenue of fifteen lacs of rupees per annum; certainly less than before, but still so great as *four hundred guineas a day!* Will Mr. Rickards still continue to assert, that this is tyranny, or rapacity?

I turn now to give the same author's description of the Mahratta governors, whom he states to have been "quite equal to the Mussulmans in the dreadful atrocities they perpetrated, and the devastating ravages with which they desolated the countries through which they passed; their route being easily traced by ruined villages and destroyed cultivation; plundering as they went along,* and seizing, by violence or by treachery, all that was valuable or conducive to their present security or ulterior views; controlled by no fixed laws, and by no better sense of right than the power of the sword."

"The districts," Mr. Rickards, continues, "which

war against the English nation on the plains of Azimabad, it was made known that the emperor designed to march thither in person. Although the inhabitants had received no benefits from him, they seemed to have but one heart and one voice on the occasion; but when he arrived amongst them, and they experienced from his profligate officers and disorderly troops the most shameless acts of extortion and oppression, whilst on the other hand they *observed the good conduct and strict discipline of the English army, the officers of which did not suffer a blade of grass to be spoiled, and no kind of injury done to the feeblest peasant*, then, indeed, the sentiments of the people changed, and the loyalty which they once bore to the emperor was transferred to the English, so that when Shah Allum made his second and third expeditions they loaded him with imprecations, and prayed for victory to the English."

* The quantity of plunder, and the value thereof, abstracted at various times from the Hindoos, is detailed with much minuteness by Mr. Rickards; and it must astonish every one where such immense treasures could be had, and how speedily they were re-collected, did we not know what a salient power there is in Hindostan, and how rapidly the most destructive disasters are recovered from by an industrious people, of commercial habits, and few wants.

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resisted, were overrun with fire and sword, the inhabitants tortured and murdered, and the country left a dreary waste, to forewarn others of their fate if not averted by ready compliance with these lawless exactions."*

The annexed sketch of Mahratta barbarity affords a melancholy illustration of the dreadful state to which the great mass of the people were reduced by the combined barbarities of the Mussulmans and the Mahrattas, from which, in a few years, they were so happily rescued by the East-India Company:—

*Description of the Mahratta conquest of Delhi, by Mr. Rickards.*—" In 1759, Abdallah again turned his attention towards Hindostan; and in 1761 made himself master of its devoted capital. He laid the city under heavy contributions, and enforced the collection with such rigour and cruelty, that the unfortunate inhabitants, driven to despair, took up arms. The Persian ordered *a general massacre, which, without intermission, lasted seven days.* The relentless guards of Abdallah were not even then glutted with slaughter; but the stench of the dead bodies drove them out of the city. A great part of the buildings were at the same time reduced to ashes; and many thousands who had escaped the sword, suffered a lingering death by famine, sitting upon the smoking ruins of their own houses. Thus the imperial city of Delhi, which in the days of its glory extended thirty-four miles in length, and was said to contain two millions of people, became almost a heap of rubbish. But this was not all; for the *Mah-*

* The uninformed English reader must be told, that the Mahrattas are a part of those Mr. Rickards terms " mild, peaceable, honest Hindoos, capable of every virtue and every acquirement that can adorn the human mind!" But he admits, in another place, that the character of the Mahrattas has *ever been*, as it still is, that of the *most rapacious plunderers!* vol. i. p. 269.

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*rattas* had now marched towards Delhi, to oppose Abdallah with an army of 200,000 cavalry. On their approach Abdallah evacuated the city, which the Mahrattas immediately entered, and filled every quarter of it with devastation and death. Not content with robbing the miserable remains of Abdallah's cruelty of every thing they possessed, they stripped all the males and females naked, and wantonly whipped them through the streets. Many now prayed for death as the greatest blessing, and thanked the hand which inflicted the wound. Famine began to rage among the unfortunate citizens to such a degree, that men fled from their dearest friends as from beasts of prey, for fear of being devoured. Many women devoured their own children; while some mothers of more humanity were seen dead in the streets, with infants still sucking at their breasts."*

Many other quotations might be adduced to support Mr. Rickards' descriptions of the Mahrattas, were it necessary.† Mr. R. states also, with reference to the "mild and amiable" Hindoos in general, that "their governments bear as full and distinct a stamp of covetousness and rapacity, of the love of power, and disregard of the means of acquiring it, as any of the Mahomedan states;"‡ —that "they have ever been, as they now are, in principle and practical operation, pure despotisms;"§ and that "the Brahmins, by whom the affairs of the Hindoo governments are almost wholly directed, have never yet been sparing of

* Rickards' India, vol. i. p. 218.

† After the fall of the Moghul power in Hindostan, Rajpootana became a prey to the Mahrattas, who visited the country annually, to plunder and exact contributions; and whose progress was consequently marked by the greatest enormities.—*Rickards' India*, vol. i. p. 233.

‡ Vol. i. p. 225.

§ Ibid.

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human blood,* nor of the arts of treachery and intrigue, when power or dominion were to be acquired, which they, like the Mahomedans, equally believe to be a gift from heaven, and victory a sure proof of success."†

Many formidable bands of Hindoos, who, like the Mahrattas, gloried in the " inestimable advantage of having a finger in every man's dish," afford ample scope for details of cruelty and devastation; such, for instance, as the formidable freebooting Pindarries, who, congregated as an immense army of mounted robbers and ruffians, spread ruin throughout a great part of India, and required all the talents of the Marquis of Hastings, and the largest British force ever brought into the field, for their suppression. Even now (in 1832), a band of terrific robbers named Coolies, and professional murderers called Thugs (composed principally, as regards the leaders, of Brahmins), are creating alarm and destroying property about Mirzapore and Benares—so difficult is it to calm and settle a people who had long been the propagators of anarchy, and who lived by crime and bloodshed!

The general tendency of Mr. Rickards' work, when ridiculing " the inspired high-priests of the temple in Leadenhall-street,"‡ is to prove that the British administration of India has " but slenderly alleviated the rigour of the despotisms under which the Hindoos have so long

* The diabolical practices of infanticide, female cremation, and human cremation, all of which are encouraged by the Brahmins, sufficiently illustrate this position, independent of Mr. Rickards' note from Colonel Wilks' account of Mysore, relating to the Hindoos torturing their enemies, " decorating their goddess with a necklace of human skulls, and a wreath composed of the noses and ears of their captives." However such barbarity may be palliated by considering the persecutions to which the Hindoos were subjected by the Mahomedans, it is rather stretching a point too much to be continually lauding them as the most virtuous, humane, amiable, and civilized people on earth!

† Vol. i. p. 229.

‡ Vol. i. p. 69.

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groaned."* I cannot, therefore, close this chapter without adducing the testimony of the author before me respecting the governments of the minor princes who were to be found scattered over various parts of India, and who, according to Mr. Rickards and Colonel Wilks, are accused of privately assassinating *four hundred* priests (the only number they could collect together who would trust them), while passing from the audience-hall into a pretended refreshment chamber, because they opposed themselves to the *moderate* request of a tax upon "opening a door!"—or of surrounding with large bodies of cavalry any community of their subjects who shewed the least resistance to oppression!†

*The petty princes of India described by Mr. Rickards.*—"The kingdom of Mysore, which arose out of the ruins of Vijeyanuggur, exhibits also a like origin in military adventure and blood, and in a similar series of intriguing usurpations, murder, and conquest."—"Each petty chief, by counterfeiting grants from Delhi, laid his claim to districts;‡ the country was torn to pieces with civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion; vil-

* Notwithstanding this, Mr. Rickards tells the Select Committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons in 1830-31, and the Board of Control in 1832, that *the East-India Company are the very fittest agents which his Majesty's Ministers can entrust the government of India to for the future;* while he has written two large volumes to shew that their past administration is no better than any of their predecessors. My high opinion of Mr. Rickards will be found in the work which I have written on the Tea-trade, p. 137: it is, therefore, exceedingly painful to have to note discrepancies which materially affect either horn of the dilemma Mr. R. may ultimately fix on. It is, I think, evident that his generous enthusiasm for freedom in politics has blinded him, as much as his self-interest in commercial matters has swayed his judgment; in fact, his plan of reform for the home and foreign government of India, stamps him as as a dangerous partizan.

† Vol. i. p. 232.

‡ In the Carnatic, for example, no less than twenty petty chiefs assumed the title of Nabob. One of these "intriguing sinners" took the cognomen of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* (composer of the state); but the country exhibited, as Mr. R. says, a scene of boundless exaction and

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lainy was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bonds of private friendship, of connexions, as well as of society, were broken;* and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm."

*Another set.*—" The Polygars, like the northern zemindars, were originally military adventurers, or leaders of banditti, or revenue or police officers employed under former governments, and who, availing themselves of times of weakness or distress, or the absence of a controlling force, established themselves in their respective districts. Each Polygar, in proportion to the extent of his jurisdiction and power, had forts and military retainers, and exercised within his own limits all the powers of an Asiatic despot. In the history of the Pollams (the districts governed by the Poligars), anarchy, misrule, lawless power, insurrections, civil and external wars, ravages and famines, are the most prominent features. When the contribution demanded by a Poligar, the amount of which depended on his conscience, was resisted or not quietly submitted to, it was enforced by torture and the whip; the whole village was put in confinement; every occupation interdicted; the cattle pounded; the inhabitants taken captive into the pollam lands, or *murdered;* in short, every species of outrage continued to be committed, until the object of the Poligar was accomplished." (P. 485.)

and rapacity on the part of government and its officers, of evasion on that of its inhabitants, or of collision between them and the public servants, while the revenue diminished even with the cultivation.

* An extract from Mr. Orme's works will shew the general insecurity of private rights under the government of the petty princes:—" The mechanic or artificer will only work to the measure of his necessities: he dreads to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him; if conspicuous for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some person in authority, and obliged to work for him night and day on much harder terms than his usual labour acquired when at liberty."—Book I. chap. iv.



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*Another Specimen.*—"In the northern circars, when they came into the Company's possession, not only the forms but even the remembrance of civil authority seemed to be totally lost; the Zemindars had all forts and armed forces for their defence, the more powerful using their force as opportunities favoured to extend their possessions, and swallow up minor zemindaries."

*One more instance.*—"The Jaghire* was twice invaded by Hyder Ali, once in 1768, and again in 1780. In the latter, more especially, fire and sword seemed to contend for pre-eminence in the work of havoc and destruction. At the close of the war in 1784, the country exhibited few signs of having been inhabited, save in the bones of murdered bodies, or the naked walls of villages and temples, the melancholy remains of an almost universal conflagration. To the miseries of a desolating war, succeeded a famine: death and emigration nearly depopulated the country." (Vol. i. p. 419.)

But why continue details at which the heart sickens?—why relate further instances of one hundred thousand men being put to death in *cold blood* in one day?—why describe streets of cities made impassable by heaps of slain?—why describe the pitiless slaughter of thousands of mothers with their smiling infants at their breasts?—why describe the fury of respectable citizens, who, beholding the pollution and ravishment of their wives and daughters, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and they themselves insulted, beaten, and abused, with one consent shutting the gates of their cities, murdering their consorts and children, setting fire to their houses, and then rushing out

* Now called Chingleput, a distance of 2,440 square miles in extent, and in the immediate vicinity of Madras.

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like madmen against their enemies?—why, I ask, depict any more of scenes such as these, which every where crimson the page of Indian history prior to our conquest?* A christian and a philanthropist would have said, that any power, European or Asiatic, that would have interfered to put a stop to such harrowing scenes would be entitled to the highest approbation which man could bestow; not thus, however, is it with those who can see no merit in that which does not originate with themselves, or square with their notions of government. If the East-India Company had never added one shilling to the wealth of England, one inch of dominion to her crown, or one leaf of laurel to its glory, the mere circumstance of establishing peace in a country such as India, which for countless ages had been a prey to every species of atrocity which degrade men far below the level of the brutes, and which, under a less genial clime, and fertile territory, would have converted the whole land into a howling wilderness; they would most assuredly deserve to be ranked among the noblest benefactors of the human race. If, therefore, the subsequent chapters shew that they have prudently fulfilled the almost sacred duties which so extraordinarily and unexpectedly devolved on them some better treatment is due to them from their countrymen than an implicit reliance on statements, as destitute of decency as of truth, which it has been so much the fashion of late to give credence to, while it will be admitted that the acquisition of the Indian empire by Great Britain has been the greatest blessing ever conferred on that long distracted land.

* According to the profound Mill, and comprehensive Major Rennell, rebellion, massacres, and barbarous conquests, make up the history of India from the remotest period.



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## CHAPTER II.

GREAT VARIETIES IN THE NATIVES OF INDIA;—THEIR CHARACTER INFLUENCED BY SOIL, CLIMATE, FOOD, &c: RATHER THAN BY POLITICAL INSTITUTES;—OPINIONS AS TO THEIR QUALIFICATIONS FOR HIGH OFFICIAL SITUATIONS, AND UNAVOIDABLE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT IN CAUTIOUSLY INDUCTING THEM INTO PLACES OF TRUST AND EMOLUMENT.

THERE is scarcely any subject connected with India concerning which more misrepresentation exists, or which requires to be more thoroughly known, than the character of its inhabitants; before proceeding, therefore, to explain the nature of the government by which they are controlled, it is necessary to say something as to their varieties, particularly as several authors speak of one hundred and twenty million of human beings as if they were one family, and describe them after the manner of Bishop Heber,* when he first visited the shores of Bengal, "*Angeli forent si essent Christiani!*"

* The worthy and talented divine saw reason to correct this Augustine saying, as will be subsequently seen; and as to identity of character, he says, "It is a great mistake to suppose that all India is peopled by a single race, or that there is not as great a disparity between the inhabitants of Guzerat, Bengal, the Duâb, and the Deckan, both in language, manners, and physiognomy, as between any four nations in Europe." Vol. ii. p. 409.—And again: "The inhabitants of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay and of the Deckan are as different from those nations which I have seen and from each other, as the French and Portuguese from the Greeks, Germans, and Poles." P. 380.—In the greater part of the Upper Provinces of Bengal, the languages of the body of the population are so little settled, that it would be extremely difficult to translate the Regulations of Government into any language that would be understood by them, unless a separate translation were made for every district.

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It would be as ridiculous to speak of all the inhabitants of Europe as one race because they wear hats, shave, and are professedly christians, as it would be absurd to speak of the many millions who inhabit India as a single genus, because they all wear turbans, do not shave,* and are, in the aggregate, nominally disciples of Menû. In fact there is a greater diversity of character and language,† among the natives of the peninsula of Asia, than in all Europe. In the former we have the submissive and industrious Soodras; the insidious and talented Brahmins; the generous and urbane Thakoors; the ambitious but sensual Mahomedan; the warlike and cunning Mahrattas; the peaceful, money-changing Jains; the feudatory and high-spirited Rajpoots; the roving and thieving Bhatties and Catties;‡ the scrupulously honest Parsees;§ the lynx-eyed Jews;|| the professionally murdering Thugs and Phansingars,¶ the heroic

* The Hindoos shave the lower lip—the Mahomedans the upper lip, sometimes.

† Mr. Crawfurd, in his Colonization pamphlet, admits that, "in India, there are at least thirty nations speaking as many distinct languages. There are several forms of religion, and these again are broken down into sects and castes, the followers of which are full of antipathies towards each other. The Indian nations are unknown to each other; the Mahrattas are as much strangers to the people oi Bengal or to those of the Carnatic, as we are; the Seiks are strangers to the Mahrattas; and some fifteen million of Mahomedans differ from each other in nation, in sect, and often in language." Pp. 67 and 68.

‡ These wandering outlaws worship the sun, and hold the moon in great veneration: Mr. Rickards compares them to the ancient Germans as described by Tacitus.

§ The character of these people for intelligence, morality, and true nobleness, will rank with that of any nation in the world.

|| The Jews are very numerous in India and China, and, like all Asiatic Jews, are distinguished from those of Europe by a peculiarity of feature and immense Roman noses.

¶ The Phansingars of the south of India are professional murderers, like the Thugs. It is remarkable that in the latter community, which is composed of all castes, Brahmins are the most numerous, and they are the directors of their horrid vocation.

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Goorkhas; the mercantile Armenians; the freebooting Pindarries; the vindictive but grateful Nairs; the sedate Nestorians;* the filthy Mugs; the self-proud Persians; the actively commercial Chinese;† the martial but mercenary Sindeans; intelligent Syrians; bigotted Roman Catholics;‡ independent but despotic Poligars; fanatical Gosseins; proscribed Sontals; piratical Concanese; trafficking Bunyans; turbulent Mhairs and Meenas; degraded Munniporeans; sanguinary and untameable Coolies; quaker-like Kaits;§ wild Puharrees;‖ pastoral Todawars;¶ usurious Soucars and Shroffs;** outcast Pariars; ferocious Malays; innocent Karians; dissolute Moguls;†† peaceful Telingas; anomalous Grassias; grasping Jauts (Jats); keen-sighted Bunnias;‡‡ mendicant Byragies; jesuitical

* This sect of ancient Christians are very numerous in the south of India.

† This extraordinary race are very numerous in Calcutta, and they are engrossing all the artizan business to themselves by their superior industry and skill.

‡ The Roman Catholics in Hindostan amount to about 600,000, scattered over different parts of the country.—[The Hindoos say that the Catholic form of worship is derived from theirs.]

§ They support each other; not one is uneducated, and they are never seen in a state of mendicity or in a menial capacity; they differ from the "Society of Friends" in not being strictly of a moral character.

‖ This singular people inhabit the hilly country between Burdwan and Boglipoor, and are totally distinct from the inhabitants of the plains in features, language, religion, and civilization. They have no castes, care nothing for the Hindoo faith, do not worship idols, and, under the management of such men as the late Mr. Cleveland or Mr. Charles Glass of Boglipoor, would form some of the most useful subjects in the Company's dominions.

¶ This tribe have a strong resemblance to the ancient Romans.

** Bankers and money-brokers; they are usually possessed of immense wealth.

†† The dingy-white colour of the Moguls of the north-west provinces is as displeasing to the eye as their filthy licentiousness is to the mind.

‡‡ The retail dealers and petty dealers of Central India, who form an extensive and useful class of society.

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Charuns and minstrel Bhâts; avaricious Mewatties; restless and depraved Soondies;* well-trained fighting Arabs and Patans;† commercial Bringaries and Lodanahs;‡ aboriginal Gonds;§ and, in fine, tribes of Sours, Baugries, Moghies, Googurs, Gwarriahs,|| &c., too numerous and diversified to depict, and presenting if not a similar number of languages, a corresponding diversity of dialects,¶ and a complete distinction in manners, customs, and occupations; to speak therefore of the inhabitants of the peninsula of Asia as we would of those of the peninsula of Europe, denotes either the height of ignorance or of intentional misrepresentation.

It is the fashion of the present day to ascribe the character of nations to the nature of institutions under which they live,** and therefore Mr. Rickards and other authors

* The illegitimate descendants of the Rajpoots, who are looked upon with disgust by every other community for their habitual and numerous vices.

† The Arabs and Patans are mercenary soldiers, and, like most others of the warlike profession, ready to fight for those who pay them best.

‡ They live always in tents, have no home, trade in grain, with which they travel from country to country, or follow the route of armies, who, in their most fierce contests, consider these valuable attendants as neutrals. Their dress and usages are peculiar, and they preserve a marked separation and independence.

§ The Gonds, wherever they are not completely under our control, still continue to offer to their deities human sacrifices.

|| These people support themselves by stealing women and children, to sell! Under the extension of British sway, they are fast disappearing.

¶ The modern dialects of India, according to the last edition of Hamilton's Gazetteer, are the Hindostany, Bengalese, Cashmerian, Dogura, Ooch, Sindy, Cutch, Gujeratty, Concanese, Punjaby, Bicanere, Marwar, Jeypoor, Odeypoor, Harowty, Malwa, Broj, Bundlecundy, Mahratta, Magadha, Koshala, Maithala, Nepaulese, Orissa, Telinga, Carnata, and Tamul.

** The writer of this work, in order that he might better trace the remote causes of the character of nations, made a large collection of the skulls of different people, a portion of which are now in the museum at Calcutta. The marked variety in the cranial configuration of the Hindoos,

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contend that all the East-India Company have to do is to give perfect political liberty to the people of India, and as they are "capable of every virtue and every acquirement that can adorn the human mind,"* the fruits of such will be immediately developed.

Mr. Rickards will permit me to say that I have met among the dark coloured races of Asia and Africa, individuals whose personal prowess, mental qualifications, and moral worth, would place them in the highest standard among their European brethren; but while the remembrance of those are to me a pure delight, such as the green turf and limpid brook is to the wearied traveller in the desert, on which memory loves to linger, I cannot, in a comprehensive view of the condition of the people of India, think that it is in the power of the Company's government, by a talismanic touch, to alter the settled habits which ages have imprinted on the nations subject to their sway. I ask those who contend for the homogenousness of human character, have we not variety in climates, in soils and in minerals;—in vegetables, in fish, in insects, birds and animals, subject to certain defined laws and influenced by natural causes? Why should it be otherwise with men who, in colour, physiognomy, stature, speech, gesture, habits, music,† and mental as well as

Hindoos, the Burmese, the Chinese, New Hollanders, Europeans, Malays, African Negroes, &c., astonished all who saw them. The difference between the Burmese and the Hindoo, for instance, consists in the occipital bone of the latter being quite globular; and in the other so flat, that the skull rests on a *broad base*. In the New Hollander the top of the skull, at the junction of the parietal bones, is like a steep-sloping roof of a house: in the northern African it is like the top of Table-mountain at the Cape of Good Hope. Every nation having marked traits of character, no matter what may be their political institutions, present similar peculiar formations of the mental case.

* Rickards' India, vol. i. p. 269.

† Every nation has a distinct character in its music.

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physical peculiarities, present such an extraordinary diversity that no two persons were ever found alike?* To make, therefore, political institutions absolute, when nature is neither uniform nor homogeneous, is absurd, so long as Omnipotence impresses on everything earthly a varying character; thus nations submit themselves to laws adapted to the peculiarities of the country they inhabit, and the tastes with which their Creator has endowed them.

If political freedom were the grand cause for producing a complete development of "every virtue which can adorn the mind," and thus forming, if I may so term it, a monotonous display of extreme morality, the reverse would necessarily ensue under political despotism, when we should expect to find a monotony of vice proportioned to the tyranny of the ruling power;† but the unjustness of this

* Even in the same family we find no two individuals having similar characteristics. Notwithstanding all the efforts of education, we find a difference in moral qualities as well as mental powers. In hand-writing even, in the intonation of the voice, in gait, in animal propensities; and this distinction becomes the more marked, if we compare two brothers with the nation of which they form a part; while a wider line of demarcation is seen on comparing the people of the nation, in the aggregate, with the people of other and distant climes.

† Italy is a case in point: the iron heel of despotism presses on every part of that classic land. But the inhabitants of the north are essentially different from those of the south: the former produces the best soldiers, the latter the keenest politicians;—the people of the one are industrious, peaceful, of tamer manners, and, if I may so express my meaning, *domesticated;* those of the other, of a wild and stormy temper, generous but revengeful, capable of the most heroic as well the basest deeds, of an uncultivated genius and impatient of discipline; a country, in fact, where

"The virgins are soft as the roses they twine,
"And all, save the spirit of man, is divine."

Although both are considered the regions of painting and poësy, yet the southern genius far excels the northern in boldness of conception and magnificence of composition—as the writings and works of Dante, Tasso, and Machiavelli, of Raphael, Salvator Rosa, and Michæl

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proposition scarcely requires to be demonstrated. England at the present moment enjoys a large portion of political liberty, and it has been augmenting from year to year since the revolution; but crime has nevertheless progressively increased. Denmark exists under a pure—nay, what is more extraordinary, a voluntary despotism, and Austria under complete absolutism; yet the virtue of the people ranges as high, if not higher, than that of any nations in the world.

In fact, it is one of the fallacies of the age to think that mere political institutions are all that is required to fashion out a whole people; as much as to hold forth that a nation may become instantly rich by acting on the principles of Adam Smith, no matter what advance it may have made in agriculture, science, or manufactures.

Why is it that such a striking difference is manifested between the inhabitants of a low, hot, and damp region, and the people of an elevated, cool, and dry atmosphere?—between the timid Bengalee and the brave Rajpoot, the phlegmatic Dutch and the sanguine Swiss?—between the commercial Chinese and the conquering Tartar; the latter being bold, warlike, and independent, glorying in deeds of heroism,—

Michæl Angelo demonstrate; and of a more ancient date, those of Scipio, Cæsar, and Cicero, who owe their birth-place to the sunnier clime. Whence, then, this marked contrast? The political institutions, the religion, the language is common to all; but the climate and soil are essentially different. The north is a fertile, champagne territory, intersected by numerous rivers, cultivated to an astonishing degree, covered with wide and level roads, never-ending avenues, and thickly-populated towns and villages, with a highly luxuriant but dull and sleepy landscape; the south is crowned with purple-tinged mountains and golden-edged clouds, diversified with inaccessible and stupendous crags, foaming torrents, Cashmerian vales, wild but beautiful forests, and a scenery which presents the most splendid pictures at every step. Is it a matter of wonder that the character of men inhabiting such different countries should be dissimilar?

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"Who, for itself, can seek th' approaching fight,
"And turn what some deem danger to delight;
"Who seek what cravens shun with more than zeal,
"And where the feebler faint can only feel—
"Feel, to the rising bosom's inmost core,
"Their hopes awaken and their spirits soar;
"No dread of death if with them die their foes,
"Save that it seems e'en duller than repose!"—

the former a cowardly, pacific, and even servile race, prone to superstition, addicted to compliments, and extravagant in all the littleness attending the ceremonials of behaviour?

How comes it that nations of extensive power and great wealth, such as Rome and Greece, have allowed their liberties to pass from them, and gradually and silently submitted to the terrific yoke of slavery—to the monotonous despotism of one man? How can we explain the monumental civilization of the ancients, the bare ruins of which excite the admiration of millions—a civilization which induced its promoters to raise colossi for altars, to erect mountains for mausoleums, and wonderfully to excavate the very earth in forming temples for divinity?* Why is it that we find in history nations, more especially those of a warm clime, numerous and enterprizing, passing through every stage of prosperity—then, by an unexpected and inevitable revolution, losing all traces of their former grandeur, and sinking into the condition of serfs?

* The temples of Luxor and Carnak, the Ptolomean pyramids, the mysterious ruins in Mexico, the rock-cut and splendid pagodas within the bowels of the earth and on its surface in Hindostan, would almost seem to attest the existence of a race of Titans, whose gigantic works, shrouded in the darkness of ages and defying the devastation of time, painfully strain our imaginations in conjectures, which are scarcely more than problematical, but which impress the fact on our minds that the architecture of men as we approach the tropics is more colossal and imposing; while as we advance towards the northern and southern poles, it is far less splendid, more convenient, but perhaps better finished.

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In truth, however advantageous political liberty be for man—and no one contends for it more than the author of this work—we must seek some other cause for the diversities which distinguish his national character. In some countries the earth, by incessantly-continued culture, unrefreshed by natural or artificial irrigation, ceases to produce the elements necessary to the formation of the nutritive sap of vegetables, and a deleterious chemical combination takes place, which exhales odours either innocuous or destructive of animal as well as of vegetable life. Thus whole regions are slowly depopulated, and the earth, returning to its primitive state, requires *time* and *rest*, before it be again capable of adequately supporting a given number of the human race: but, during the interval, vegetables and animals, but more especially man, rapidly deteriorate. This is strikingly observable in the Maremmes of Tuscany, and several places where there are no marsh exhalations. In other countries, on the contrary, nature subdues civilization by a different process. An energetic and all-powerful principle of vegetable life increases in the ratio of the destruction of human life. Dwarfish plants assume a gigantic form; ordinary-sized shrubs become lofty forest-trees; dense and luxuriant masses of foliage, upheld by interminable vines, and interspersed with every variety of the richest flowers, on all sides present immense umbrageous canopies; the earth, if barely scratched, produces maize sixteen feet high, and other farinæ of nearly equal size, while innumerable descriptions of wild animals and fruits are every where around; the carpet of nature is at all seasons green, and bedecked with the lovely flowrets which usually decorate the lawn, while the sky is unclouded, and the air of apparent delicious blandness. But amidst this unbounded profusion and loveliness, this terrestrial Eden, as regards the habitation of human beings,

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is a desert! The shaft of death, with an unerring aim, is borne on the breeze; and man—stunted, emaciated, and wretched—only shews himself in a hostile attitude, to contend for his miserable existence with the wily tiger, the ferocious buffalo, or the majestic lion!

These organic changes or local peculiarities of the soil whence food is derived will more easily account for the transition or formation of national character than political institutions, which are not even such powerful modifiers of the mind as systems of firmly-believed religion or expansive education. To deliberate, therefore, seriously on instantly engrafting the enlightened and liberal principles of Englishmen on the superstitious and bigotted Hindoos, without first couching them for the moral cataract which yet dims their mental vision, is, however philanthropic, visionary in the highest, and indeed most mischievous, degree; for, in the body politic as in the body corporate, an injudicious attempt to increase the strength not only retards the desired object, but frequently superinduces diseases fatal to life; and it would be as erroneous to suppose that a man receiving sight after thirty years' blindness could immediately distinguish colours and compute distances, as that a people, after enduring a despotism of centuries, which had benumbed their energies and clouded their faculties, could, by a mere legislative ordinance, become restored to the healthy and beneficial enjoyment of both.

It is therefore perfectly ridiculous to hear the blame which has been cast on the Authorities for not having immediately thrown open the highest offices in the state to the natives of India. Those who make this allegation either know little of India, or less of human nature. Of the former, *first*, because the diversity of people there is exceedingly great, and they are all jealous of each other:

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the believer in Krishna is averse to a propagator of the Koran being placed in authority over him, and *vice versâ.* —*Secondly.* The same argument holds good of the numerous tribes and sects whom I have described at the beginning of this chapter: again, many possessed of the highest integrity are nevertheless deficient in mental qualifications,* and *vice versâ.* Also, *thirdly,* the inhabitants of a province or district are much irritated at a native of another province being placed in authority over them: this is within the knowledge of all who ever paid the slightest attention to the feelings of the nation at large. The people of Central India dread the Hindûs and Mahomedans of the Deckan and Hindostan; and the Bengalees, although in several instances qualified for office if removed beyond the corrupting sphere of family influence, are looked down on with contempt in the Upper and Western Provinces.—*Fourthly.* In a country where the pride of ancestry and purity of birth are looked on as superior to every other consideration, the appointment to high office of men who, although eligible by reason of talent and honesty, had by means of their ancestors been raised to wealth and apparent respectability during the stormy period which preceded our rule, the appointment of such would excite the strongest feelings of detestation and disgust in thousands.† —*Fifthly.* The most unfavourable opinions are formed of the English government, when its subordinates are corrupt and tyrannical; the difficulty of detecting such, among the native civil officers in India, is well known, and the direful

* Indeed the natives of India possessing the most acute minds, are in general those who do not understand the English language.

† This has been felt by the native officers in our army, who were much mortified whenever they saw or heard of their countrymen, inferior to them in birth, placed over them in civil situations. It may be said, "Then let the native officer be raised also." But it should be recollected that the civil power has been held predominant in India from our first acquisition of rule.

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injustice which they caused at Allahabad and Cawnpore, in confiscating the landed property of a whole province, is a melancholy case in point.

Respecting the other censurers on this topic, they must indeed have profited little by the length of years which has been vouchsafed to them, not to know that slaves make the worst masters, or they should reflect, in their virtuous efforts for the general good, that government may, by a well-meant but partial benificence, materially impede universal welfare, for the moment a native is vested with the slightest official authority (as is correctly observed by the talented and benevolent author of Central India), he is well known to stretch it, in the absence of his superior, to a degree which is almost incredible, unless to those who have witnessed the passiveness and arrogance of the ruled and ruling natives, arising from the lengthened bondage and misrule to which they have been so long and so fatally subjected.

On this point I have the powerful testimony of Mr. Rickards himself, as to the dreadful tyranny of native subordinates when the country fell into our power, and, as Mr. Rickards justly observes, "the settled habits of man cannot change like the aspects of an April sky,"* he might have prudently withdrawn the rash and unjust assertion, that, "the Honourable Court, the inspired high priests of the temple in Leadenhall-street, would have the British public believe, that a *semi-demi* state of clothing and starvation is an object of idolatrous worship to the natives of India!"†

The following is the calmer and correctly expressed sentiments of a warm but injudicious advocate of the natives of India:—

* Rickards' India, vol, i.p. 248. † Ibid. p.69.

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*Difficulties in the way of employing natives in high office, until better educated and trained for the duties thereof, as explained by Mr. Rickards' words.*—" In comparing European with Indian society, it should also be remembered, that besides the greater tyrants in their respective spheres, the country was every where covered with subordinate officers, such as nabobs, dewans, foujedars, amildars, tehsildars, jagheerdars, zemindars, poligars, talookdars, rajas, naiks, wadegars, and various others; all of whom exercised their powers in the same arbitrary spirit as pervaded the higher departments of the state.

" Many of these officers who were powerful enough from local causes, or the natural strength of the country they possessed, not only opposed, but maintained their independence of the superior authority; exercising in their little circles the rigours and caprices of despots, even to life and death, with impunity. In the territories conquered or ceded to the Company's government, these persons or their descendants were still found to possess and to exercise the same powers. Swarms of harpies were thus spread in every direction, even to the mundils and potails of villages, and despotism established, as it were in detail, in every corner of the land.

" Power was here a license to plunder and to oppress. The rod of the oppressor was literally omnipresent; neither persons nor property were secure against its persevering and vexatious intrusions. The common transactions of life became objects of punishment or extortion:—and no other principles being known or dreamt of in India than arbitrary power on the one hand, and abject submission on the other, a state of society was fixed and rooted in the manners, the poverty, and the ignorance of the people, of which no parallel nor resemblance is any where to be found in European states.

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" Of the officers above mentioned (others might be added), it is requisite to keep in mind that they all held their situations at the will and pleasure of the sovereign power. Though some of the offices were considered hereditary, still there was no security for the inheritance against the caprice of rulers, or the violence of rivals who might set themselves up to contest the possession.* The sword was the sole guardian of private as of public rights. From this entire absence of security to the uninterrupted enjoyment of office or property, the holders of power, from the highest to the lowest, were naturally more rapacious in its exercise; rapacity begat poverty, and poverty ignorance, so that not an element or principle existed among the people to counteract, to check, or to mitigate the rigours of a tyranny which has thus triumphed for ages in India, without change, or the means of change in itself; and consequently by reaction, confirming the immutability of all submitted to its sway."†

Any man who pretends to the slightest *practical* legislalative wisdom, would ask himself, before censuring the government for not placing the natives of India in the highest situations, from what class or community the " officials" were to be selected? Were men, who from " the highest to the lowest" considered "*power* a license to plunder and oppress," to be vested with an authority, which, according to Mr. Rickards, would meet with " no element or principle among the people to counteract or check it,

* In a note to this, Mr. Rickards details a case to shew what sense the Mahomedans entertained of the right of inheritance, even under the Emperor Shere Khan, " one of the ablest men of his age," *viz.* that " there were no hereditary estates in India among Mahomedans, for that all lands belonged to the king, which he disposed of at pleasure," yet, Mr. Rickards says, " that excepting the sanguinary part, the East-India Company follow the example of the Mahomedans!"

† Rickards' India, vol. i. p. 254.



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abject submission being fixed and rooted in Indian society for ages !"

From among men, who, according to the same author (page 41), *exhibited* (Mr. Rickards makes it *present*) "one uniform picture of pauperism and degradation; practising evasion, fraud, and duplicity; equally lost to the feelings of patriotism; indifferent to life and its concerns, and prone to indolence and crime." Was it, I seriously ask Mr. Rickards, from among such men that the Company's government were to fill the highest offices of the state? I venture to answer for Mr. Rickards in the negative, notwithstanding his sarcasms against the "monstrous and unnatural doctrines of the *wise*, *just*, and *lenient** administration of the British government."

Any person who has ever conversed with the smallest community of Indians must know, that they would dread the idea of a native being placed in high authority, as a judge or revenue officer, uncontrolled by the surveillance of an European functionary; the preceding quotations from Mr. Rickards' work will partly explain the reason why. But before stating the measures and policy pursued by the Company's government, to introduce the natives to a greater share in the administration of the country than that which they now have, I will quote one or two other authorities as to their general character; of individual exceptions, which serve but to make the rule, I will hereafter say a few words. The following opinion of Bishop Heber, applies to a great part of Western India:—

*Character of the Rohillas.*—"The Rohillas are a clever and animated race of people, but devoid of principle, false and ferocious. Crimes are very numerous, both of fraud and violence, and perjury almost universal. When the

* The *italics* are Mr. Rickards' own.

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English first came here they were excessively disliked, and very few would so much as 'salam' to either general or magistrate; at present they are brought into better order, and probably better reconciled to a government, under which their condition, so far as tranquillity and the impartial administration of justice extend, has been greatly improved, and their land, from a mere desart to which the tyranny of Oude had reduced it, restored to its former state of cultivation and richness. But the country is burthened with a crowd of lazy, profligate, self-called "suwars," who, though many of them are not worth a rupee, conceive it derogatory to their gentility and Patan blood to apply themselves to any honest industry, and obtain, for the most part, a precarious livelihood, by spunging on the industrious tradesmen and farmers, on whom they levy a sort of 'black-mail,' or as hangers-on to the few noble and wealthy families yet remaining in the province. Of these men, who have no visible means of maintenance at all, and no visible occupation, except that of lounging up and down with their swords and shields like the ancient highlanders, whom in many respects they much resemble, the number is rated at, taking all Rohilcund together, perhaps not fewer than one hundred thousand; all these men have every thing to gain by a change of government." (Heber, p. 441.)

The foregoing extract contains several points worthy of notice; it depicts the general talents of the people which, when not turned to virtue, is sure to steer to vice; it announces what the amiable Bishop states in various parts of his writings as being prevalent throughout India, "the almost universal perjury of the people;"—it shews the rapid improvement of the country: the "lazy and profligate" wretches who continue to impede its prosperity, by pluming



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themselves on their gentility and noble blood!—and how glad they would be to trip up the heels of the British government, that they might again riot in their rapacious domination. Would Mr. Rickards have the Company to place these "Suwars" in office?

As the testimony of the late lamented Bishop ranks deservedly high, I will examine a few more pages of his interesting volumes. Of the Rajpoots he thus writes:—

"The people have the vices of slaves added to those of robbers, with *no more regard to truth than the natives of our own provinces;* exceeding them in drunkeness, fondness for opium, and sensuality, while they have a bloodthirstiness from which the great mass of the Hindoos are very far removed: their courage, however, deserves high praise."*

Here again the Bishop alludes to the general perjury of the Indians, and to the vices which they possess† only in a less degree than the Rajpoots; in other places he observes, when speaking of the natives *en masse:* "It is

* Mr. Rickards, and those who think the character of fifty or sixty millions of people may be suddenly changed by the mere introduction of political institutions, would do well to attend to the following just, but melancholy picture of Hindoo idolatry, by Bishop Heber, and then state whether it is not necessary, gradually and carefully to remove such a terrible source of crime, poverty, and wretchedness, before we can hope for the good effect of free institutions:—

"But of all idolatries which I have ever read or heard of, the religion of the Hindoos, in which I have taken some pains to inform myself, really appears to me the worst, both in the degrading notions which it gives of the Deity; in the endless round of its burdensome ceremonies, which occupy the time and distract the thoughts, without either instructing or interesting its votaries; in the filthy acts of uncleanness and cruelty, not only permitted, but enjoined, and inseparably interwoven with those ceremonies; in the system of castes, a system which tends, more than any else the devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine-tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder; and in the total absence of any popular system of morals, or any single lesson which the people at large ever hear, to live virtuously, and do good to each other."—*Bishop Heber's Journal*, vol. ii. p. 384.

† Page 71.

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difficult to find out the real state of the case among a people in whose eyes a lie is not disgraceful, and if an offence a very venial one." Vol. ii. p. 43.

Again—" the tendency to lying is such, that in a court of justice they cannot even tell a true story without spoiling it." P. 315.

In describing an attempt of three hundred villagers to plunder an ammunition boat, which they had been called in to assist in getting off a bank, the Bishop says, " it shews the low state of morality among the peasants of India, and how soon and how surely a sudden temptation will transform the most peaceable into banditti." (P. 159.) Mr. Crawfurd describes the people of Hindostan as follows:—" The Indians know not what freedom is; they are for the most part a timid, often an effeminate, and as a nation a feeble race of semi-barbarians; they are without capital, knowledge, morals or enterprize; for vice and profligacy the Indians have no demand, the market is already stocked."—*Free Trade Pamphlet*, pp. 64, 68.

I cannot close Bishop Heber's work without making one more extract, particularly as it is applied in a general sense to the whole people:—

" The morality of the Hindoos does not extend beyond the reach of positive obligations; and where these do not exist they are oppressive, cruel, treacherous, and every thing that is bad!" P. 315.—" The different nations which I have seen in India have, of course, in a greater or less degree the vices which must be expected to attend an arbitrary government, a demoralizing and absurd religion, and (in all the independent states, and in some of the districts which are partially subject to the British) a laxity of law, and an almost universal prevalence of intestine feuds and habits of plunder." Vol. ii. p. 409.

In these unqualified statements the Bishop is fully cor-

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roborated by those who have anteriorly or subsequently examined the character of the people to whom they refer. Colonel Wilks says, "The Hindoos, though faithful and respectable in the ordinary intercourse of life, are dreadfully addicted to judicial perjury." "The crime of perjury (observes a judge of the Patna circuit) is thought so lightly of by the natives of this country, that the commission of it can scarcely be said to stigmatize the character."

Another judge states, "men of the first rank in society feel no compunction at mutually accusing each other of the most heinous offences, and supporting the prosecution with the most barefaced perjuries, nor does the detection of their falsehood create a blush."* Mr. Mangles, in his evidence before the Lords in March 1830, speaks of "the general depravation of society" (737), and says, "I do not think that a native is to be trusted without very great and constant vigilance and superintendence." (667.)

Mr. C. Smith, judge of the Sudder Adawlut, and whose attachment to the natives is well known, when asked on his late examination as to the integrity of the Hindoos, said, "I think that a very suspicious point." (1006.)

Mr. Chaplin, after upwards of twenty-five years' experience of the natives in the revenue department, stated in his evidence that, "in the districts where the management has not been efficient very considerable frauds have been detected in the natives." (Lords 2759.)

Sir E. H. East, Bart., in his testimony before the Lords, when speaking of the native judges who try causes up to a certain extent, says, "I must confess that the characters I heard of the generality, both from Europeans and

* Mr. Mill says, that the "Hindoo system of law in certain cases makes perjury a virtue!"—Vol. i. p. 644.

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natives, were very far from being of a nature to encourage one to put a great deal of judicial power in their hands."* (1351.) The next question was, "That you apply as much to the judges as to those persons called vakeels or agents?" Answer. "Whenever any men of that description, I should speak rather of a greater number of them, are placed in any situation of authority, it has been I fear too much the custom with them to avail themselves of it for their own pecuniary advantage."

This point is well understood; every Anglo-Indian knows that a Hindoo will give several thousand rupees for an office which does not yield fifty rupees a month; the desire of holding rank being too often the lesser cause for such a purchase.

In the provinces of Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Goruc-poor, nearly the whole country was sequestered by the villainy of the native officers under government,† owing to the lax vigilance, or perhaps connivance of their immediate superiors. The transaction was brought to light by Mr. Fortescue, and the tremendous spoliation of property put a stop to. The Bengal government sent up a commission at its own expense (which was very great, as it

* Mr. Christian says, in his evidence before the Commons (3067), "the natives are, many of them, very well qualified for judges; but their integrity is open to suspicion."

† Mr. Rickards describes a nearly similar event in the south of India: "Pending the distractions from 1780 to 1784 (*i. e.* during the terrible invasion of Hyder Ali, as described in the 1st chapter, p. 18,) a race of persons termed *Dubashes* (native agents) had established themselves in the jaghire, by buying up the rights of the starving inhabitants for a few days' or a few weeks' subsistence. The vigour of Mr. Place's administration succeeded in restoring many of the old landholders and heads of villages, &c. to their former rights." Again Mr. R. says: "All the village servants not only connived at abuses in others, but abused their own trusts in every way that could serve their private views or promote those of their superiors in the district." Vol. i. p. 421. Well may Mr. Rickards admit in another page (345), that "in affording protection and justice to so poor and numerous a population as that of India, the local influence of Europeans, compared with that of natives in authority, is as a child to a giant's strength."

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has been sitting since 1821), and as Mr. Mangles states, "redress has been almost co-extensive with the evil; the lands were bought by the officers of the court or by their creatures; it was a business of most shocking fraud. The perpetrators had got to such extreme insolence and impudence in their chicanery, that I understand some of the papers of sale were drawn up in the name of dogs and jackalls to make the matter ludicrous." (Lords 598.)

Colonel Briggs thus speaks of the gentry that came within his sphere of observation: "The native gentlemen, the Mahrattas particularly,* neglect their education very much; they are a good deal like the ancient gentry here, who thought more of war and the sword and field-sports, than of education; the Rajah of Sattarah always complained to me that he could get none of his chiefs to allow their sons to be educated; he found he had a great difficulty in getting the young nobles or gentlemen to learn anything." (Lords 4144.)

Mr. R. Davidson, who went out to India in 1804, and passed the greater part of his life as an indigo planter, holding land for sixty or seventy miles along the banks of the Ganges as high up as Bauglepore, stated in evidence: "I should say decidedly, with reference to the state of society among the Hindoos, that it is very artificial, and consequently a very bad order of a great community." (Lords, May 1830, 3734.)

Mr. Sinclair, who had extensive experience as a collector

* Major-General Sir S. Smith, of the King's service, thus speaks of the Mahrattas with whom he says he is best acquainted: "They are naturally a very intelligent people, but have for ages been in fact a military people, and a very lawless set, arising from the bad governments which were then over them, so their intelligence is not yet of a nature to apply to all uses." (Commons, October 1831.)

This is the candid opinion of an old and experienced officer, who declares himself to be "a great advocate for bringing the natives forward."

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in the southern provinces, says, in his evidence before the Commons in August 1831, "the character of the natives is such that they seem to have no idea of justice or truth; they consider justice as deciding in their favour, and injustice as deciding against them, and they have not much idea of gaining justice except by means of bribery; they have great confidence in the Europeans generally, but the only reason that they have not absolute confidence in them is, that they are afraid they will be imposed upon by the native servants around them; and, therefore, even in the Zillah Court they bribe the servants of the judge, although the judge may be a person of unimpeachable character." In another place Mr. Sinclair says, "I do not think the natives are frank or generous, and gratitude is a word which does not exist, I believe, in any of the native languages. P. 641. "They are exceedingly submissive, perhaps more so to the native officers than to Europeans, and they generally bury their accumulated capital." Ib.

Were it not an invidious, and indeed most irksome task thus to dwell on the unfavourable character of a whole people, I might heap evidence upon evidence; sufficient however has been adduced to explain the inevitable necessity of the policy heretofore pursued, in cautiously admitting the natives to offices of trust, which might be used for the oppression of the mass of the people;* and which experience has unfortunately demonstrated to be the case too often. To judge of the moral or intellectual qualities of one hundred million of persons by isolated specimens is

* Mr. Rickards admits this in almost every part of his able work. At p. 567 he says: "The corrupt influence of the native collectors, and of persons interposed between European collectors and the peasantry, is incapable of effectual control. Violence, corruption, and artifice on the one hand, are met by deceit, hypocrisy, and cunning on the other; what one tries to extort, the other endeavours to withhold." At page 590, Mr. Rickards contends that the zemindars, or landed gentry, "are proverbial throughout India as oppressors and extortioners."

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the very height of absurdity; most assuredly if I were to indulge my private feelings and speak of such Hindoos as Rammohun Roy, and Dwarkanaut Tagore, or of Prussunu and Ramnath Tagore, and many others, particularly the Parsees, I should with difficulty find language in which I might express my thoughts, without bordering on apparently excessive eulogy. The profound philosophy with which the name of the first is associated in every part of the civilized globe; the official and commercial knowledge that characterizes the second; and the comprehensively liberal principles, combined with intense devotion to their country, and an ardent attachment to the British government, which so pre-eminently distinguish both, are too well known to require comment; but even these generous patriots (and they have sacrificed more for their countrymen, in a pecuniary as well as personal manner, than is generally known) do not wish to see the Hindoos immediately installed into the highest offices;* they wisely prefer their gradual induction in proportion to the progress they make in knowledge and morality; a course which has been carefully pursued for several years by the government. Mr. Rickards himself says, in his evidence before the Lords: "Of late years the natives have been more extensively employed than formerly as local judges or justices with limited authority; there are no doubt instances of corrupt and vicious conduct among the natives so em-

* Mr. Sullivan, whose noble conduct in Coimbatore, in endeavouring to improve the condition of the natives, endears him to every well-wisher of his species, says, that in Mysore "the whole civil and military administration rests with the superior class of natives, instead of being vested in Europeans; but the lower orders of natives are not by any means so well off under the native government of Mysore, because it is a most oppressive one;" he adds, "the higher class are not absolutely better paid under the native government, but they have various perquisites, &c." Mr. Chaplin says, that "in some of the districts of the native chiefs, nothing can be worse than the condition of the lower orders." (Commons, October 1831.)

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ployed, but when moral improvement is more generally introduced among them, their manners as well as their principles will assume a higher scale."

Mr. Crawfurd, who cannot help at times stating fairly and impartially the difficulties with which the Company have to contend, says "India indeed is not exactly the field where the most rapid improvement can be looked for, even under the freest operation of this indispensable principle," ( *i.e.* placing the feeble and ignorant Indians in a state of wholesome collision, and fair emulation, with the strong and intelligent Europeans.) — "Here there are obvious circumstances connected with distinctions of race, of complexion, of religion, and of manners, which will more or less obstruct or narrow its beneficial influence."—Again, Mr. Crawfurd says truly, "the conversion of the Indians, whether civil or religious, must necessarily be gradual, and will be the safer and more efficient for being so." (P. 87.)—Independent of its spiritual consequences, the influence which the degrading superstition of the Hindoo religion exercises over civil society is pernicious and demoralizing, far beyond that of any other known form of worship."—"The Indians, as they improve, must prudently and gradually be admitted to a share in their own administration." *Colonization Pamphlet.*

This is precisely the line of policy adopted by our government functionaries; they are endeavouring by education and encouragement to give a lofty tone to the rising generation, which of course is most susceptible of good impressions. Mr. Rickards himself admits that "the governments of India, as well as the Court of Directors, have been most anxious to improve the state of the peasantry; the orders of the Court of Directors, abound with able and humane instructions to their governments abroad, for a just administration of the territories com-

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mitted to their charge. Many of these very able letters are now in print, and do great credit to the Directors of the East-India Company. I particularly refer to those which treat of protections to the peasantry."

But the same gentleman subsequently says, that "the exactions and fraudulent impositions and oppressions committed by the native subordinate public servants employed to realize and collect the revenue,* on the peasantry, have hitherto presented an insuperable bar to the benevolent wishes of the Court of Directors and local authorities being carried into effect;" and he asserts in the next answer (question 3965) that the Hindoos are still little protected against the artifices of designing men; "more especially of the natives filling official situations;" and that a very able minute by the Marquis of Hastings, on a regulation passed in 1821, contains in the preamble "a long and minute detail of the enormities that have been committed by our native servants, both in the revenue and judicial departments of the service."†

* Mr. Rickards devotes forty pages of the second volume of his excellent, but jaundiced work, to detail the extraordinary frauds of a native collector in the small district of Coimbatore, "who was named Cass Chitty, and whose frauds and contrivances," Mr. Rickards says, "would prove that the Hindoos are not a nation of incapables." The embezzlement proved against this man, after five years' office, amounted to £237,547! This was even but a portion of the injury done, for the roguery of Cass Chitty extended through all his subordinates. How Mr. Rickards could deliberately sit down and pen strictures against the government for not placing the highest situations at the control of the natives, after declaring "discoveries similar to that of Cass Chitty's have been the result of local enquiry in Salem, Rajahmundry, Tanjore, Malabar, and many other parts, not to mention the Bengal provinces;" is indeed almost unaccountable! it is a melancholy instance of obliquity of vision.

† Mr. Chaplin, who takes a warm interest in the natives of India, describes the Mahratta brahmins of the Deccan, who conduct all the business of the country, as "an intriguing, lying, corrupt, licentious, and unprincipled race of people: when in power, coolly unfeeling, and systematically oppressive." (October 1831.) This gentleman also states, that he has seldom employed the natives who have been brought up at the presidencies as agents in the interior, as they bring with them "extremely corrupt habits."

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It must not be forgotten, that the class of society from which government are necessitated to select the functionaries employed is the needy and middling rank of the people; the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone stated before the Lords in 1830, that none of the higher order of natives are employed as judges, from their indisposition to undertake that office. This acute observer and generous promoter of the interests of the natives says that "most of the high ranks of society have been accustomed to great arbitrary authority under the former government, and would not be content with so limited a share of power as they would possess under our system;" and he adds, "I am not certain their acceptance of office would improve the administration of justice, as it is probable that those great chiefs would be less attentive than persons of lower rank," (2504-2505). In another place Mr. Elphinstone states, "the administration of the zemindars, or aristocracy, at Bombay is attended with very bad effects."

Nowithstanding all these facts, how has the government acted? Why it has carefully striven to induct the natives into office in every part of India. Mr. Elphinstone, in detailing to their Lordships the manner in which civil justice is administered in the provinces under Bombay, says, "there is a judge in each district, and under him there are a certain number of native judges in divisions of the district, with salaries from £200 to £500 a year,* according to the extent of their power to try causes from £50 to £500. They are partly paid by a salary and

* The native judge at Poonah receives about 800 rupees (£80) a month, and the subordinates from 200 to 400 per month. In the revenue branch natives are employed with increased powers, and salaries varying from thirty to 600 rupees a month. In all cases it is politic of the government to give as high salaries as possible, for they will thus be the more certain of fixing the integrity of the great body of the people.

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partly by fees. 'No fee is levied on any cause under one hundred rupees, but the fee for those small causes is paid by government, so as to make it the interest of the native judge to try many causes."

A similar system has been put in practice in Bengal, and Mr. Chaplin states that in Madras "the natives are employed to a very considerable degree;" that "a number of the natives have been appointed, on comparatively high salaries, to the judicial and to the revenue offices."* (Lords p. 359.)

There is a college also at Madras, for the purpose of educating pleaders in the courts of law, officers and pundits, and examining all those who are candidates for office. Mr. Hodgson, who served twenty-seven years in India, and who is a strenuous advocate for the natives, states that since the regulations of 1816 the experiment has been tried of extending the jurisdiction of the district judges with much success throughout Madras; that a further experiment has been tried of creating a native judge in the town of Seringapatam, where a European judge formerly presided.†

By regulations of the Bengal government, within the present year new courts of law have been established in the upper and lower provinces of an extensive jurisdiction, with native judges and subordinates. The Sudder Aumeen of each court has five hundred rupees (£50) a month, which according to the expenditure of a Hindoo, is equivalent to nearly four times the same sum, as a salary for a European judge. The subordinate officers are paid in proportion.

* Mr. Sinclair says that in Tanjore the native servants amount to one thousand; of the European servants in the revenue department the number is four or five.

† Evidence before the Lords, page 476.

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While I am now writing, a bill has been introduced into Parliament by the philantrophic President of the Board of Control, by which the natives at the three presidencies are eligible, when qualified, to act as justices of the peace and to officiate as grand jurors. Heretofore the natives served only on petty juries, and the functions of justices of the peace were confined to the provinces; now, it rejoices me to say, that a Hindoo, or a Parsee, or a Mussulman, or any native of the British possessions in India, when qualified by talent and integrity, may proudly take his station on the bench beside a European magistrate, and the invidious distinction between a grand and petty juror no longer exists.* Other measures are in progress at home and abroad for inducting the natives into a further share of responsible power, and those who so loudly complain of the natives being shut out of all chance of improving themselves, must not therefore think, or endeavour to make the British public believe, that they possess a monopoly of kindness or feeling for the Hindoos; it is not by writing two immense volumes to prove to the natives how much they are oppressed by the revenue system of the British government, and then, when called on by the Parliamentary Committee and Board of Control to offer any suggestions for another financial scheme, declaring that he has none to offer,† and that "it would be quite impossible to

* A copy of the bill will be found under the Judicial chapter.

† Mr. Rickards told the Committee that he had no suggestions to offer, and that he "did not think it safe or wise to attempt further modifications or ameliorations of the system, where so many able heads have already decidedly failed, until (says Mr. R.) the best-informed and most experienced of the natives are consulted." Why, what has Sir T. Munro, Mr. Elphinstone, Sir J. Malcolm, Mr. Butterworth Baily, Lord W. Bentinck, Sir C. Forbes, and other warm advocates of the interests of the natives in India, been doing? A stranger would be led to conclude from Mr. Rickards' writings, that no person cared for the Hindoos but himself!

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reduce the aggregate amount of land taxation in India abruptly."*

It is not, I say, by stimulating the passions of the Hindoos, and censuring the authorities without being able to sketch out any plan, that the former are to be benefited: nothing is easier than to cast blame on an individual or on a government, but the person doing so should ask himself how *he* would act if placed in a similar position. Mr. Rickards has not condescended to inform us of any new system which he would propound. We have the important testimony of the Right Honourable Charles Grant in 1832, that he acknowledges with pleasure that the general principles upon which the Court of Directors have acted with reference to the natives of India to be, "their eligibility to fill important and responsible offices in the administration of its affairs, when sufficiently qualified."

A little reflection would teach those who complain of the past tardiness in admitting the natives to the highest situations, that the governments of India have had a most difficult and painful duty to perform, and a reference to the past will explain sufficiently their nature: those difficulties are now being removed; we are becoming more acquainted with the peculiar and varied characters of the natives, and they are acquiring a knowledge of our institutions and objects. Every real and sensible well-wisher of the natives agree, that our government should proceed steadily in its present course; that, according as we find men qualified, and feasible opportunities, the Hindoos, Mahomedans, and all classes, should have trust gradually reposed in them, leaving always something open for the reward of talent, industry, and integrity. If any man be instantly nominated to the highest post which his am-

* Evidence before the Lords, Qu. 4000.

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bition can prompt him to aspire to, he becomes lazy and careless, he has no further spring for his capabilities to be exercised on, and he sinks into the condition of an automaton, performing merely as much duty as will retain him in his situation; but if there be even only *one* post of dignity or emolument open to one hundred candidates, each will aspire to it, and in seeking to attain it, elevate himself in moral and intellectual worth: if, again, there be many intermediate steps between the highest and the lowest, every successive elevation will raise the candidate higher and higher in his own estimation and in that of his fellow citizens. I need not here dwell on the necessity of adequately rewarding those who are employed by government, particularly in such a country as India, where the investiture of a man with the lowest constable's staff, has too long been considered a license to plunder and oppress. Lord Cornwallis found that the best method to secure the integrity of the European functionaries was, by paying them well; the same principle is equally applicable to the Asiatic, especially to those in civil life who are without the stimulus of glory, or deprived of the harmless vanity of military pomp and personal distinction: but, with an expenditure exceeding the revenue, and in the unsettled state of the future government of India, it is not so easy immediately to carry into effect this desirable amelioration to its full extent. It is unnecessary to dilate longer on a subject on which so many are agreed; which is avowed as well in India as at the India House and Board of Control; I therefore close a chapter which to me has been a most disagreeable one, because of my being necessitated to view the dark side of human character, and the terribly demoralizing effects which physical as well as mental despotism are so certainly calculated to produce.



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The Hindoos, it is true, have not had iron fetters on their wrists and ankles like the slaves of the West-Indies, but they have had for centuries fetters on the mind, far more efficacious for the debasement of the immortal spirit of man—

———"Is there no tyranny but that
Of blood and chains? The despotism of vice—
The weakness and the wickedness of luxury—
The negligence, the apathy, the evils
Of sensual sloth, produce ten thousand tyrants,
Whose delegated cruelty surpasses
The worst acts of one energetic master,
However hard and harsh in his own bearing."*

Let me not however be mistaken: I perfectly agree with Captain Macan, that the natives of India have prejudices to be humoured, affections to be won, and passions to be dreaded,—nay I will go farther, and venture to add—*virtues* to be cherished and esteemed as well as developed; for to all who have studied their character, it must be a matter of astonishment that they possess so many amiable qualities in spite of the mental and bodily slavery to which for ages they have been subjected. I have made great sacrifices (comparatively speaking) for the natives of India; I would, were it requisite, make more, not because they are Hindoos—not because they are British subjects—but because they are human beings; but I will not allow my enthusiasm to run away with my discretion; I will not by a rash act or word assist to plunge again into Cimmerian darkness, millions, who are just beginning to perceive the ascending sun of enlightenment and virtue; for by doing so I would deserve a greater punishment than mortal

* Sardanapalus. The chapter on "education," will shew the efforts that are making to remove the "despotism of vice."

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could inflict, I would perish with the maledictions resounding in my ears of every man whose heart throbs for human suffering; for my intentions, however well meant, would be forgotten in the breaking up of the social structure, which is now being built up and cemented throughout the Anglo-Eastern Empire.



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## CHAPTER III.

ANALYSIS OF THE HOME GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—THE COURT OF PROPRIETORS, THE COURT OF DIRECTORS, AND THE BOARD OF CONTROL — THEIR RELATIVE POWERS AND PATRONAGE—REFUTATION OF THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW FOR JULY 1832—DANGER OF FURTHER INTERFERENCE BY MINISTERS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

THE Home government of India has been represented as a dangerous *imperium in imperio*,—as "a mystery of state,"—as "regal authority without public responsibility;" and the Court of Directors as "a self-elected corporation, with a patronage of £600,000 a year; for maintaining which the people of England alone pay a couple of million per annum, in the shape of an overcharge for indifferent tea, and the people of India every thing that can be got from them."*

I propose to examine into the truth of these allegations. The share possessed by the Ministers of the crown, through the medium of the Board of Control, in the government of India, will shew whether it be an empire within an empire;—the voluminous published documents, and official and parliamentary proceedings demonstrate whether it be "a state mystery;"—the numerous contested elections for Directors;† and the independence of the Proprietors,

* Westminster Review for July 1832, p. 100.

† There have been twenty since 1814; and if the reviewer will glance at the advertizing-column of the *Times*, he will see a list of candidates for the situation Mr. Jenkins has so deservedly been elected to fill. There are also many other embryo candidates, whose names are not before the public.

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evince that the idea of "self-election" is absurd;—the taxation of the people of England to the extent of two million for indifferent tea, I have proved to be totally devoid of truth; *—the amount of patronage will be inquired into, and as to "regal authority without public responsibility," the reviewer will permit me to reverse the language he has addressed to Colonel Galloway: "when he was intrepid in assertion, he ought in discretion to be at the same time accurate in fact."

The debates in the Court of Proprietors are open to the reporters of the public press. As regards the measures of the Court of Directors and Board of Control, any member of either house of Parliament may move for copies of all papers, correspondence, &c. relative to proceedings in India or China; for instance, the whole of the Court of Directors and India Government Correspondence with the Select Committee at Canton, relative to the recent disputes there, have been laid before both Houses and printed, although they occupy very many folios; they may be had or read by any individual;—besides, according to several Acts of Parliament, the commercial and financial accounts of the Company, as well as all legislative enactments passed in India, are annually laid before Parliament. The truth is, Indian topics since the days of Burke and Sheridan, men who could "lend a grace to deformity," have had little or no attraction for the bulk of the English nation; there is, or rather has been, a departmental feeling, if I may so term it, in Englishmen, which keeps them more alive to every thing which is passing nearer home, a sort of selfishness in regard to personal enjoyments, which although repulsive individually, has been in the aggregate

* Vide "Past and Present State of the Tea Trade of England and of the Continents of Europe and America." Parbury, Allen, and Co.; 1832.

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productive of much wealth and happiness in their own country. This exclusive attention to "number one," is I admit now wearing away, in corroboration of which I could not adduce a better illustration than the sympathy felt for foreigners; but if the Westminster Reviewer wishes to put the English public to the test respecting India, let him establish a periodical—a weekly newspaper or magazine, devoted to an impartial review of eastern subjects; he will meet with every facility at the India House, but from the public I unhesitatingly assert from a perfect knowledge of the fact, he will not receive in twelve months, as much as would defray his bare printing expenses for one month! It is therefore stretching a point too much, to blame the home government of India, for not making the people of England actively interested in their proceedings. I proceed to explain the system of home administration, beginning at the base.

---

## The Court of Proprietors.

The source whence the more immediate governing power of India springs is the Court of Proprietors, composed of the shareholders of East-India stock to a certain amount, who elect from their own body by ballot a certain number of representatives (twenty-four), to whom the proprietory confide the planning and carrying into effect whatever measures may be deemed most conducive to the interests of India and of England, reserving to themselves a surveillance and limited control over the proceedings of the delegated authority.

The "General Court" affords a striking instance of a popular senate; there is no distinction as to citizenship, the Englishman, the Frenchman, the German, the inhabitants of any nation are eligible as members; there is no-

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difference as to religion, the Christian, the Jew, the Turk, the Pagan, the professors of every, or of no, creed, are equally admissible; there is no impediment as to sex, a woman as well as a man is entitled to the free exercise of her opinion in this assembly; there is no aristocratical bar— the soldier and the sailor, the merchant and the agriculturist, stand on the same footing; and to all this must be added that, to which the elective voice of the British people is fast hastening, the invariable use of the vote by ballot.

The qualifications for sitting and voting in this completely liberal senate, are thus regulated—

A Proprietor of £500 stock is entitled to a seat.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ditto | £1,000 | to one vote. |
| Ditto | £3,000 | to two votes. |
| Ditto | £6,000 | to three votes. |
| Ditto from £10,000 to £100,000 and upwards | | four votes. |

To avoid the possibility of persons purchasing the power of voting at any particular moment, or for a specific emergency, and to prevent collusive transfers of stock, it is provided by the Bye-laws of the Court, that no proprietor can be qualified to vote unless the sum of £1,000 stock be in his or her own right for twelve-months;* and to destroy the tendency to a monopoly of votes, the exercise of which would be injurious to the general weal, if a proprietor possessed one million sterling worth of stock, he would be entitled to no more than four votes. No voting by proxy allowed. Minors are incapable of voting.

The Proprietors of East-India stock consist, according to a calculation, of 3,579, who are thus subdivided:

* This clause is dispensed with when acquired by marriage, bequest, or settlement.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 54 | Proprietors have | four votes. |
| 50 | ditto ............ | three votes. |
| 370 | ditto ............ | two votes. |
| 1,502 | ditto ............ | one vote. |

221 ditto, holding only £500 stock, not qualified to vote, merely to debate.

The number of proprietors who possess sufficient stock to vote, but who have not held it long enough are,—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | Proprietors of .................. | four votes. |
| 12 | ditto ...................... | three votes. |
| 39 | ditto ...................... | two votes. |
| 132 | ditto ...................... | one vote. |

In addition to the foregoing, 396 persons hold stock under £500, and are not qualified to vote or speak; 1,519 proprietors reside within four miles of the General Post Office; 165 accounts are in the names of foreigners; and seven proprietors possess each more than £10,000 stock.

*Classification of the Votes in the Court of Proprietors.**

| | Votes. |
|---|---|
| *Commoners.*—Comprising members of Parliament, private gentry, bankers, merchants, traders, ship-owners, shop-keepers, &c. ........................... | 1836 |
| *Women.*—Married, widows, and spinsters ......... | 372 |
| *Officers.*—In His Majesty's and the Honourable Company's army ...................................... | 222 |
| *Clergy.*—Bishops, rectors, curates, &c. ............ | 86 |
| *Officers.*—Of His Majesty's navy, from admirals to Lieutenants ........................................ | 28 |
| *Nobility.*—English, Irish, and Scotch Peers ........ | 20 |
| *Medical.*—Doctors and surgeons ..................... | 19 |
| Total...... | 2,658 |

* This calculation was made some months ago: it is of course liable to vary, but not materially.

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The Court is convened regularly four times in every year, in (March, June, September, and December,) and at such other times as may be deemed necessary for special purposes, nine qualified proprietors being empowered to address a requisition in writing to the Court of Directors, to convene a court, which not being summoned within ten days, the aforesaid proprietors may call such meeting on their own requisition, previously affixing notice to that effect at the Royal Exchange. Of late the number of special courts have not been great, as the following table will shew.

Number of General and Special Courts which have taken place at the India-House since 1814.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1814-15 | No. 13 | 1824-25 | 19 |
| 1815-16 | 17 | 1825-26 | 15 |
| 1816-17 | 18 | 1826-27 | 15 |
| 1817-18 | 10 | 1827-28 | 7 |
| 1818-19 | 11 | 1828-29 | 9 |
| 1819-20 | 15 | 1829-30 | 8 |
| 1820-21 | 9 | 1830-31 | 7 |
| 1821-22 | 9 | | |
| 1822-23 | 12 | | 212 |
| 1823-24 | 18 | | |

Annual average of courts held.......... $12\frac{8}{17}$.

The chairman of the Court of Directors is *ex officio* the speaker or chairman of this court; his duty is to attend to the summoning and appointing of the quarterly assembly; to convene special courts; to preside at all meetings; to introduce to the notice of the Court all business arising out of any measure which may have been adopted by the Directors; to bring forward all motions which require the sanction of the court, to lay annually before its members accounts, shewing the net proceeds of the Company's sale of goods during the past year, the duties and allowances arising from private trade, the net profits of the Company in Great Britain, and the application and disposition thereof; a general statement per computation

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of the Company's affairs to the 30th April in each year; such accounts and papers as may from time to time be laid before either House of Parliament by the Court of Directors, and all proceedings in Parliament which in the opinion of the Court of Directors may possibly affect the rights, interests, or privileges of the East-India Company generally, before the same shall have passed into a law.

The following powers are vested in the Court. The election of qualified persons to form the Court of Directors; the declaration of dividends on the capital stock of the Company, subject to certain legislative enactments.* The framing, altering, or repealing such bye-laws as may be deemed necessary for the good government of the East-India Company, provided such do not interfere with any Acts of Parliament. A general control over any increase to a salary or pension exceeding £200 a year, or over any gratuity beyond £600; over the creation of any new officer at home or abroad with a salary exceeding £200; or over superannuated allowances to officers and servants in England. The Court can confer a tribute of approbation and a pecuniary reward, on any Eastern statesman or warrior whose services may seem to them worthy of such manifestations of popular gratitude; should the donation, however, exceed the sums before-mentioned, it is subject to the confirmation of the Board of Control; it can also demand copies of various public documents to be laid before it for discussion and consideration; but by Act of Parliament† it is prevented rescinding, suspending, revoking, or varying any order or resolution of the Court of Directors relative to the revenues, or civil or military government,

* By an Act of Parliament in 1813, the dividend cannot exceed 10½ per cent: all profit beyond that is appropriated to territorial and other purposes. The capital stock of the Company is £6,000,000 sterling.

† 33d Geo. III. c. 52, passed in 1793.

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*after* the same shall have received the approbation of the Board of Control.

The manner in which business is transacted in the House of Commons and at the India House is very much alike. All motions except the previous question is liable to amendment; any member may call for a division on a question, and nine members qualified to vote, may demand a division by ballot, but twenty-four hours must elapse after the general court has adjourned before the ballot can be proceeded with; the ballot cannot begin later than twelve, nor close earlier than six o'clock; two or more ballots on the same day must be taken in separate rooms; no lists can be received after the glass is finally sealed up; mistakes in the names of candidates resolved by scrutineers; the glasses examined when opened, and sealed up when the ballot is concluded; questions are decided by a majority, and in case of an equality, a determination is arrived at by the Treasurer drawing a lot. The gallery of the Court is open to the reporters of the public press; and although the daily papers can only afford space for meagre outlines of the proceedings, which the editors think do not come within the desire of their subscribers, yet the fullest account of the debates are regularly published in the *Asiatic Journal.*

As the Court possess the right, and exercises it, of nominating the Directors, they also, of course, have the right to remove them; this extreme of power, has, however, been seldom resorted to, the retiring from office frequently enabling the proprietors to evince their feelings in a less decided, but not less efficacious manner. I allude to this circumstance particularly, because the Right Honourable Mr. Courtenay says, "the Court of Proprietors have really no interest whatever in the concerns of India;" the right honourable gentleman, however, almost immediately qualifies, if indeed he does not negative this statement, by

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admitting, "they are certainly interested in the good government of India, and in the conduct of the China trade, so far as their dividends are affected," and he adds, "but otherwise they are not the people whom the Indian Directors represent in the government." I cannot agree in this declaration; the Directors are *bona fide* the representives of the Proprietors; they are responsible to the latter for the able fulfilment of the duties which are delegated to them; and if, for instance, a Director was known to be guilty of malversation, or found incapable of performing the functions of the office, the Court of Proprietors remove him, and appoint another.

The fallacy of this part of Mr. Courtenay's evidence requires hardly further demonstration; as well might the right honourable gentleman say, that a member of Parliament for Westminster did not represent the inhabitants of that city, because he was controlled in a certain degree by the Crown, and the House of Lords, as the Proprietors are by the Court of Directors, and the Ministerial Board of Control!

The Court of Proprietors operate, in fact, on the Indian executive, in a nearly similar manner to the House of Commons on the British executive. The executives may declare war; the others may deny or check the munition thereof; the proprietors, indeed, possessing equal power to the Commons, for they might instantly dismiss the whole Court of Directors, and appoint more pacific ones in their stead.* As to their possessing "really no interest whatever in the concerns of India," it may be reasonably enquired whether a man holding one share (£1,000), or ten shares (£10,000), the very existence of which depends on the continued connexion of India and England, and of the tea

* I am of course assuming here an extreme case, which has never happened, and probably never will.

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trade, has "really no interest whatever in the concerns of India?" If a poor man, for example, with a large family, invests all his money in East-India stock, as affording a good rate of interest, has he no inducement to look after the management of that stock, on which the support of his family depends? If the Company's government be involved in wars, and the profits on trade be trifling, so that instead of ten per cent. he receives two per cent., has he no interest in the proceedings of the persons to whom he delegates the management of his property? Let us suppose, for a moment, that the tea-trade now held by the Company be thrown open, and all commerce be interdicted to the Company, where must the dividend come from? From the Indian territory; let us now further suppose a series of impolitic measures being put in force, which were driving the Hindoos into open rebellion, and hazarding the entire separation of Hindostan from England, have the Proprietors of India Stock no good interest in the government of India? I will not dwell longer on a subject which it is extraordinary the generally acute mind of Mr. Courtenay could have so treated, but pass on to examine the functions of the representatives of the Court of Proprietors.

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## The Court of Directors of the East-India Company.

This Court is composed of twenty-four (not of "thirty"*) proprietors, qualified by Act of Parliament and chosen by ballot from the body of the electors. The necessary qualifications are: natural-born or a naturalized subject of Great Britain,—the possession of £2,000 stock (no matter for what previous period), in his own right or for his own use; not being a Director of the Bank of

* Westminster Review, July 1832.

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England or South Sea Company, a resident in England for two years after holding office in India; or having held no maritime office in the service of the Company for two years previous to his proposed election; and not having, under any plea or pretence whatsoever, endeavoured to obtain, directly or indirectly, a vote for the election of himself, or of any other person to be a Director. If elected, he takes a solemn oath in pursuance of an act passed (the 33d George III.) of which the following is an extract, after binding him to carry on no private-trade, to have no dealings with the Company except as a private individual, nor to hold any place or office of emolument under the crown:—

"And further I do swear, that I will not directly or indirectly accept or take any perquisite, emolument, fee, present, or reward, upon any account whatsoever, or any promise or engagement for any perquisite, emolument, fee, present, or reward whatsover, for or in respect of the appointment or nomination of any person or persons to any place or office in the gift or appointment of the said Company, or of me as a Director thereof, or for or on account of stationing or appointing the voyage or voyages of any ship or ships in the said Company's employ, or for or on account of or any way's relating to any other business or affairs of the said Company. And I do further swear, that I will be faithful to the said Company, and, according to the best of my skill and understanding, give my best advice, counsel, and assistance for the support of the good government of the said Company," &c.

The Bye-laws enact that a Director must make a report to the Court previous to leaving England; he has no power to remain beyond the seas more than one year, and is liable to removal by the Court of Proprietors. Six Directors retire annually by rotation, and are not again eligible

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for one year;* and in case of death or removal, the Director who may be chosen to fill the vacancy holds it only during the remainder of the term which his predecessor had to serve. Seven months' public notice is given of any annual election; printed lists of members qualified to vote are delivered at the same antecedent period, and lists of qualified candidates are published thirty days before any election; a chairman and deputy chairman are annually chosen by ballot. The Court must meet at least once in every week; not less than thirteen Directors form a Court; on all questions of importance the sense of the Court is taken by ballot, and in case of an equality of votes, the drawing of a lot by the Treasurer determines.

The Court of Directors cannot be considered, as the Westminster Reviewer insinuates, a close junta, acting in perfect combination, as a corrupt or intriguing body are usually distinguished: it consists of men of various habits, feelings, views, and character: neither is it true, as the Reviewer asserts, that "the majority of the present Directors, like their predecessors, are respectable city merchants and bankers," on which peg he hangs the question:—"what superiority in knowledge of the people, of their manners, customs, religion, laws, peculiarities, prejudices, virtues and vices, can the merchants and bankers of the City of London, who have their own affairs to attend to, possess over any Board of Control whatsoever?"†

I am not writing to vindicate the constitution of the Court of Directors or Board of Control; nor observing whether there are too few Indian civilians and military

* These are frequently, but not invariably re-elected. The object of retiring by rotation and being re-elected is stated to be, for the purpose of securing men fully competent by experience for the arduous duties of their office; while the proprietors have thus a yearly power of exercising their rights as to the merits of each director.

† Westminster Review, July 1832, page 99.

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men in the Court; but on enquiring into the alleged fact, I find the following refutation of the Reviewer in the composition of the Court of Directors as it stood 31st December 1831.

*Profession of the Members of the Court of Directors.*

| | No. of Persons. |
|---|---|
| Retired civil and law officers of the Company... | 9 |
| Do. military officers of ditto .................. | 4 |
| Do. maritime commanders of ditto ......... | 5 |
| Private Indian merchants, &c. .................. | 4 |
| London merchants and bankers ................. | 8 |

| *Services of the Court.* | No. of Years. |
|---|---|
| Under ten years' standing, from first election as Directors ........................................ | 15 |
| From ten to twenty, ditto ditto ............... | 11 |
| From twenty to thirty, ditto ditto ............... | 2 |
| From thirty, upwards ............................ | 2 |

More than *twenty** Directors had an extensive practical knowledge of Indian affairs, and seven were members of Parliament.

It would be a waste of time to expose further the inaccuracy of the reviewer; I shall merely observe, that on the occasion of the vacancy created by the demise of Captain Prescott, there were six or seven avowed, and an equal number of unavowed candidates, all of them gentlemen who had served in India from fifteen to thirty years, in political, military, and mercantile capacities.

The Court of Directors enjoy full authority over all matters, at home as well as abroad, relating to the political, financial, judicial, military, and commercial affairs of the Company (with the exception of matters of the highest

* I take the thirty gentlemen to whom the reviewer alludes.

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importance entrusted to the Committee of Secrecy); but its proceedings are subject to various acts of parliament; to the superintendance of the Board of Control, and in several matters to the approval of the General Court, as before detailed.

For the better fulfilment of these multifarious duties, the Court is divided into departmental committees, with distinct subordinates: a plan which the Board of Control was necessitated to imitate, and which is now seriously proposed for adoption in the House of Commons, from the clearness and facility which it occasions in the despatch of business.

The subdivision of the Court is as follows:—

1. Secret Committee.
2. Correspondence ditto.
3. Treasury ditto.
4. Government Troops and Stores ditto.
5. Legal Proceedings ditto.
6. Military ditto.
7. Accounts ditto.
8. Buying ditto.
9. Warehouses ditto.
10. India House ditto.
11. Shipping Committee.
12. Private Trade ditto.
13. Civil College ditto.
14. Military College ditto.

Although the duties of each Committee are partly defined by the title thereof, a few words explanatory of each may be advisable.

1. *Committee of Secrecy.*—The cabinet council of the Company—functions ministerial—defined by Act of Parliament,* composed of the chairman, deputy chairman, and

* 33 Geo. III. c. 52, § 59.



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senior director, who receive and deliberate on all despatches of the highest importance, relative to peace, war, or negotiation abroad, and all matters of a delicate nature at home; confer with the Board of Control thereon, and officially sign private despatches from the Board, the responsibility and power remaining with the latter; the members and transcribers of documents are sworn to secresy; and transactions which took place in 1814, have never yet been communicated to the body of the Court.

2. *Committee of Correspondence.*—Standing committee for the transaction of general proceedings in India. The voluminous records and despatches connected with the foreign governments, whether received from India, or emanating from the Board of Control, are under its jurisdiction; the number of ships, writers, cadets, and assistant surgeons required for the year, and their destination, are prepared by this committee for the decision of the Court. Members: chairs,* and nine senior Directors.

3. *Treasury Committee.*—Preside over payments and receipts of the Company in England, negotiate loans and all money matters at home. Members: as in the foregoing committee.

4. *Government Troops and Stores Committee.*—Superintend whatever relates to the employment of his Majesty's land and naval forces in India, liquidating accounts, &c. Members as above.

5. *Legal Proceedings Committee.*—Attend to any litigation at home or abroad in which the Company may be parties, consult with legal advisers, and submit their opinions, &c. to the Court of Directors. Members as above.

6. *Military Committee.*—Hear the application of military invalided officers of the Indian army, or the widows and

* The chairman and deputy-chairman are thus termed for abbreviation; they preside over all committees.

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children of such as have fallen in the Company's service; all accounts relative to the fund named after Lord Clive are submitted to it, and reported to the Court. Members: chairs, nine senior, and three junior Directors.

7. *Accounts Committee.*—Inspect bills drawn on the Company at home and abroad; examine all pecuniary demands, and prepare statements of the concerns of the Company for the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, and for Parliament. Members: chairs, and six first junior Directors.

8. *Buying Committee.*—Contract for, and purchase, various commodities for India and China. Members as the foregoing.

9. *Warehouse Committee.*—Mercantile affairs at home and abroad are prepared for the ultimate decision of the Court, and certain military stores purchased by it. Members as above.

10. *India House Committee.*—Have the charge, repair, &c. of the extensive building in Leadenhall Street, and the departments attached thereto; inferior servants are appointed by it and rules framed for the clerks, &c. Members as before.

11. *Shipping Committee.* — Distribution of outward-bound vessels, embarkation of troops, repair of ships and packets owned by the Company; examines naval officers; arranges all points relating to freight, maritime contingencies and charter-parties; superintends marine stores; the character of marine officers, and hires ships when required. Members: the chairs and seven last junior Directors.

12. *Private Trade Committee.*—Principal business to see that the privilege trade granted to the Company's officers be not fraudulently exceeded; to examine private ships' journals, and superintend the direction of small craft employed by the Company's shipping. Members as above.



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13. *Civil College Committee.*—Regulates the management of the Company's College at Haileybury in all its details. Members: the chairs, six senior and four junior Directors.

14. *Military College Committee.*—Performs similar duties at Addiscombe College. Members: chairs, five senior and six junior Directors.

It will be observed that several committees are composed of the same members, but the advantage of the division consists, it is alleged, in the simplification of accounts and details, each committee being provided with officers trained up from an early age in all the routine of business which comes under their specific department, and who are thus rendered perfectly conversant with its affairs. All persons aware of the machinery by which governments are worked, will admit the great practical benefits which attend on an utter absence of confusion amidst the most complicated business; on the utility derived from an undiminished attention being bestowed on minor circumstances, amidst the agitation of the most distracting events.*

It has been lamented that the mode in which the committees are divided is injurious to the well-being of the whole; a gentleman, for instance, obtaining a seat in the direction with all his knowledge of India fresh about him, is placed in one of the minor committees, and shut out of all chance of a share in the executive part, *viz.* the Secret and Correspondence Committees, until his faculties become torpid by age; but, on the other hand, it is stated that all documents not coming under the sole cognizance of the Secret Committee are read in open court, and according to the nature of the subject to which they relate, referred to the committee having charge of the subject; if important merely

* The Board of Control, Mr. Courtenay says, was obliged, for the sake of business, to adopt the India House plan of departments.

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to examine into alleged facts and to report thereon;—that every Director has full power to call for any despatch when he pleases;—that when a despatch to India in reply is approved by the Committee of Correspondence, it remains a week, a fortnight, or even longer on the table of the Court, at the wish of a Director;—that a junior Director may move in court, and carry a reversal of the decisions and views of the Committee of Correspondence;—that with regard to despatches, &c. he has likewise the privilege of entering his dissent upon the minutes of the Court, which dissent is sent to the Board of Control the very next day;—that, practically speaking, the youngest Director may take an active part in the government of India;—that rising by seniority gives a general knowledge of the whole, and that, in fact, every gentleman upon his first admission is eligible to the situation of Chairman or Deputy Chairman, who sit on every Committee, and whose offices are vacated annually.

The reader will decide in his own mind as to which side the advantage remains with.

I cannot close this section of my subject without adverting to Mr. Rickards' plan of reform for the India House;* more particularly as—

> "This is the patent age of new inventions,
> For killing bodies and for saving souls—
> All propagated with the best intentions;"

and Mr. Rickards is a reformer on a grand scale:

1st. "Patronage to remain with the Directors." So far Mr. Rickards is at issue with his brother reformers.

2d. "All important questions to be brought before the Court of Proprietors for public examination and debate." The opponents to this say that the Court formerly exercised this power, but that it caused confusion, delay, and

* Letter to the Board of Control, 22d June 1832.

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an endless routine of business, and that the delegating of their authority to executive representatives, whom the Proprietors have the power of removing from office, answers every good purpose.

3d. The Court of Directors to be reduced to fourteen members, and as no commerce is to be allowed, the Court is to be divided into three committees, with three Directors in each committee; one for Bengal, another for Madras, and a third for Bombay; with a superior controlling committee of five Directors (chair and deputy), to communicate with the 'Government General' of India, and with power over the inferior committees. The members of the junior committee of Bombay to succeed by seniority to that of Madras; thence to Bengal; and ultimately to the superior committee, a member from which to be always chairman of the inferior committees.

Here, again, Mr. Rickards is at variance with some of the India constitution framers of the day; some are strenuously contending for uniting the three presidencies, placing the entire army under one commander-in-chief, and one état-major; others would transfer the whole Indian army to the jurisdiction of the crown (!); and many will have India governed as a large colony: all of which projects as well as hundreds of others, are equally at variance with Mr. Rickards' reform.*

I must not omit to add, that Mr. Rickards says "the Board of Control should be abolished as a cumbrous† piece of machinery, and replaced by a secretary of state, with a suitable establishment, and power of control over the Court of Directors." Does Mr. Rickards know the

* Mr. R.'s plan of governing India will be found under the chapter which treats of the Foreign Government.

† Who are the cumbrous members of the Board, in Mr. Rickards' opinion?—The Right Hon. Charles or Robert Grant, Sir E. H. East, Mr. Ellison Holt Mackenzie?—or were they Sir James Mackintosh or Sir John Macdonald?

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condition of Ceylon, under a "secretary of state with a suitable establishment?" But to come nearer home; as Mr. Rickards proposes a "viceroy" for India, and a "lord chancellor" with "a noble title," with a "secretary of state" over all, he will allow me to ask him, what has a viceroy and lord chancellor and a secretary of state, all with suitable establishments and "noble titles," what have they done for Ireland, within twenty-four hours' sail of England, after seven hundred years' government? Has not Ireland been a scene of discord, bloodshed, and famine, melancholy to witness, and fearful to contemplate the result of? Indeed, those who possess a knowledge of the feelings which pervade the breasts of millions of Irishmen, and reflect on the policy which has been adopted towards her under the government of a viceroy, lord chancellor, and secretary, imagine that the legislative union between the two kingdoms is fast drawing to a close, a termination to misgovernment which it is questionable whether the most liberal concessions would now avert.

Ireland has been taught a lesson fatal to rulers, by obstructing the course of justice, and delaying to grant it until fear has bestowed with a niggard hand what oppression durst no longer retain. Would Mr. Rickards set up the example of Ireland as a guide for the government of India? or does he think men entrusted with almost irresponsible power, are not the same in every age and in every country? In Ireland, that power which Mr. Rickards speaks of investing a viceroy, lord chancellor, and secretary of state with, has been wielded by a few to the exclusion of the many;* but the latter, weary of being

* Mr. Rickards, it is true, talks of a legislative council of Hindoos for India. Has not Ireland had her legislative (privy) council of Irishmen? and have they striven to stem tyranny, or bowed to its power? What expectation is there that the Hindoos would act otherwise?

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shot and starved, or refusing any longer to die in a ditch, have turned the tables, and like elephants broke loose from their domesticity, are ready to exercise with vehemence their tremendous strength. If Mr. Rickards' admirers be desirous that the Hindoos should be placed in this state before they are fit to govern themselves, but which fortunately for Ireland is not the case with her people, let his reform be adopted; in the name of anarchy let there be a breaking up of the Home Government of India, a Secretary of State instead of a Board of Control, &c. &c.,— there will soon be little necessity for governing the *Anglo-*Eastern empire.

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BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

The power vested in the crown and its ministers over the government of India, has been exercised since 1784 by a Board, which consists of such members of the Privy Council as his Majesty may be pleased to appoint,* of whom the two principal secretaries of state and the Chancellor of the Exchequer shall always, *ex officio*, form three.† The president is also nominated by the crown; is usually a cabinet minister, and in all changes of administration retires from office, together with the salaried commissioners and secretary.

The following extract from the Act of Parliament will best explain the powers of the Board:—

"The superintendance and control over all the British territorial possessions in the East-Indies, and over the affairs of the United Company of Merchants trading thereto.

"To superintend, direct, and control all acts, opera-

* 33 Geo. III. c. 52, s. 3, 4.

† In the present Board, Earl Grey, and Lords Althorp, Goderich, and Palmerston, have a seat.

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tions, and concerns, which in anywise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East-Indies, in the manner hereinafter directed.

" All the members of the said Board, at all convenient times, have access to all papers and muniments of the said United Company, and are furnished with such extracts, or copies thereof, as they require. The Court of Directors are directed to deliver to the Board copies of all minutes, orders, resolutions, and other proceedings of all General and Special Courts of Proprietors of the Company, and of the Court of Directors, so far as relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East-Indies, within eight days after the holding of such respective Courts; and also copies of all despatches which the Directors receive from any of their servants in the East-Indies, immediately after the arrival thereof; also copies of all letters, orders, and instructions whatsoever, relating to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East-Indies, proposed to be sent or despatched by the Court of Directors to any of the servants of the Company in the East-Indies; the Court of Directors are required to pay due obedience to, and to be governed and bound by such orders and directions as they shall, from time to time, receive from the Board, touching the civil or military government and revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East-Indies.

" Whenever the Court of Directors neglect to transmit to the Board their intended despatches on any subject, within fourteen days after requisition made, it is lawful for the Board to prepare and send to the Directors (without

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waiting for the receipt of the copies of despatches intended to be sent by the said Court of Directors as aforesaid), any orders or instructions to any of the governments or presidencies aforesaid, concerning the civil or military government of the British territories and possessions in the East-Indies; and the Directors are required to transmit despatches, in the usual form (pursuant to the tenor of the said orders and instructions to be transmitted to them), to the respective governments and presidencies in India, unless on any representation made by the Directors to the Board, touching such orders or instructions, the Board shall direct any alteration to be made in the same, which directions the Court of Directors are bound to conform to."

It will be seen by the foregoing, that the oath imposes on the Commissioners the responsible duty of governing India to the best of their ability and judgment, as much, and as completely, as if there were no inferior court, or administrative power; in the same manner as the House of Lords is bound to legislate for the general weal as fully as if no Lower House of Parliament existed.

The *controlling* functions of the Board are exercised in revising despatches prepared by the Court of Directors, and addressed to the governments in India; the *originating* functions in requiring the Court to prepare despatches on any named subject, in altering or revising such despatch, so as completely to alter its meaning or entire purport if it deem fit; the Board, I believe, asserts the power to forward despatches to the governments in India without communicating their contents at all to the Court of Directors, not even to the Secret Committee thereof, which was specially formed by Act of Parliament for signing officially the orders of the King's Commissioners for India.

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With the exception of the China Trade, the functions of the Board are almost paramount over all the affairs of the Company, and Mr. Courtenay says, the Board has had "a large share in the government of India."*

The evidence of the right honourable gentleman in which the foregoing passage is given, having the appearance of stating that the Court of Directors were mere ciphers in the hands of the Board, Mr. Courtenay at his next examination said, on being questioned, that "he thought nine-tenths of the most important business connected with India had originated with the Court of Directors."

Again the right honourable gentleman observes,—"very important despatches on political subjects have originated with the Court of Directors, founded upon an extent and accuracy of information perhaps not possessed by the Board, and it is extremely probable that in these instances the Board have not interfered with the Court's due." Moreover,—"the Court of Directors, comprising within themselves all the functions of all the Boards which conduct the business of a great state, must have, and have, the larger share in the administration." The clear and judicious evidence of Mr. Auber confirms this; for out of 7,978 drafts of despatches sent up to the Board from the India House, from 1814 to 1831, the Board only altered 690, and even consented to modify seventy-six out of the latter number.

Business at the India Board was performed in a very unsatisfactory manner prior to 1807; it was then modelled after the manner of the India House;—There are six departments:

1. Accounts.
2. Revenue.
3. Judicial.

* Evidence before Parliament in February 1832.

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4. Military.
5. Secret and Political.
6. Foreign and Public.

The duties of each are defined by their names; the latter embraces ecclesiastical and commercial subjects. The head of each department makes himself acquainted with all matters connected therewith, and reports upon every paragraph sent from the India House. The departmental reports are made to the secretary, and from him to the commissioner, who undertakes the particular branch of business to which they refer.

It is in evidence before Parliament that an extraordinary degree of harmony exists between the Court of Directors and Board of Control, although "the Court have never scrupled to state in the most manly and energetic terms, their opinions when opposed to those of the Board;" but they have offered no opposition for opposition sake. Communications are made between both parties previous to any draft of a despatch being drawn up, which it is truly stated have for their object free discussion; and are used as amicable propositions to further propositions, affording the Board an opportunity to state objections if existing; to offer amendments and additions without assuming a dictatorial air, and enabling each party to become acquainted with each others sentiments, without being committed in point of dignity or consistency. These preliminany communications being over, the official draft is prepared, and in fact, every precaution is used to prevent direct collision between the two powers.

The preceding details are sufficient to shew the nature of the Home Indian government; it may be said to consist of a triple power, combining in practice as well as in theory the requisite or the necessary qualifications of number, intelligence, property, local as well as general experience, and official responsibility; with nearly-co-ordinate powers

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co-operating for the general good; the Court of Proprietors acting as a check on the Court of Directors in money and commercial matters; the Board of Control on the Court of Directors in political, judicial, financial, and military affairs; and the two houses of Parliament on all. But it is between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors that the antagonist force principally rests; the preponderance is, however, much in favour of the crown. The Court may originate measures, but the Board may effectually put a *veto* thereon, and frame totally opposite measures in their stead, which if the Court of Directors object to, there remains no other resort than a remonstrance, followed by an appeal to the King in Council (against the King's Ministers); and when it is recollected that the Board of Control is backed by the whole weight and influence of his Majesty's government, of which it forms a component part, the absolute and extensive authority over the Indian empire now vested in the Cabinet will be appreciated by those who wisely prefer a constitution so regulated that the balance shall vibrate more frequently in favour of the commonalty than of the crown.

The good sense and attachment to liberty of the British nation made them averse to Mr. Fox's India bill; and the intention of Mr. Pitt in devising the Board of Control,* evidently was that it should operate as a wholesome check on the East-India Company, by whom it was naturally expected the impulse would first be given in all matters relating to the good government of India; but should they, in any unforeseen manner, neglect the duty imposed on them, an extreme power devolved on the Board of Control. I proceed, however, in the next section, to shew what other power rests with the crown and its ministers respecting

* The biographer of Mr. Pitt says, he desired it to be "a Board of Control interfering upon points only."

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the Indian empire, leaving my readers to draw their own conclusions on the facts developed in the preceding pages.

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## The Home Patronage of India.

The "Westminster Review" for July 1832 asserts, that the Directors of the East-India Company "share between them a patronage worth from half a million to £600,000 per annum."* An allegation like this, coming from a journal deservedly possessing a high reputation, which it has earned by its unflinching advocacy of the cause of the poor and enslaved, as well by its profound talent as its luculent observations, well merits consideration. Before saying any thing on the subject of the *value* of the Directors' patronage, let us first see in what it consists. The patronage of individual Directors is confined to nominating the writers, cadets, and assistant-surgeons in England, who are to be sent out to India. This is their reward† for devoting their whole time, talent, and experience to the conducting of the affairs of an immense empire, and a most valuable portion of the commerce of Great Britain.‡

Acccording to a parliamentary return, the number of writers, cadets, and assistant-surgeons sent out to the three Presidencies during five years have been as follows:—

Of Writers:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1826-27........ | No. 62 | Nominations by the Board of Control during these years, 4. 6. 3. 2. 7. |
| 1827-28............ | 64 | |
| 1828-29............ | 77 | |
| 1829-30............ | 63 | |
| 1830-31............ | 61 | |

* Page 100—"Constitution and Government of India."

† There is a salary of £300 a year attached to the office.

‡ The tea-trade, for instance, which yields annually nearly three millions and a half sterling to the British exchequer, is only *one* branch of commerce for which the public are indebted to the Company.

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Of Cadets:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1826-27 | No. 438 | Nominations by the Board during the four first years, 63. |
| 1827-28 | 365 | |
| 1828-29 | 344 | |
| 1829-30 | 200 | |
| 1830-31 | 95 | |

Of Assistant Surgeons:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1826-27 | No. 72 | Nominations by the the Board during these years—16. |
| 1827-28 | 57 | |
| 1828-29 | 59 | |
| 1829-30 | 63 | |
| 1830-31 | 43 | |

This civil patronage is lessening in number and nominal value, and will continue to lessen every year, from the greater employment of the natives in official situations, and the diminishing pay of the European functionaries. The yearly average of appointments for the last five years, has been as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Writers: | |
| For China, yearly | No. 1 |
| India | 32·2 |
| Penang, Malacca, &c. | 6 |
| Cadets: | |
| Engineers and Artillery | 67·2 |
| Cavalry | 15·2 |
| Infantry | 124·8 |
| Assistant Surgeons | 56 |
| Chaplains | 5·8 |
| Indian Navy | 12 |
| Pilot Service | 4 |
| Law officers | 1·2 |
| Members of Council | 2·2 |

In every five years:

| | |
|---|---|
| Military and Marine Surveyors General | 1 |
| Surgeon to China | 1 |
| Chaplain to do. | 1 |
| Inspector of teas to do. | 2 |

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The foregoing is the actual patronage of the Directors individually. How the reviewer could make half a million, or £600,000 out of it is another question, for not only is the sale of all offices in the Company's service strictly prohibited by Act of Parliament,* but every Director is under the most sacred obligation of an oath, that he "will not directly, or indirectly, accept or take any perquisite, emolument, fee, present, or reward upon any account whatever, or any promise or engagement for any perquisite, emolument, fee, present, or reward whatsoever, for or in respect of the appointment or nomination of any person or persons, to any place or office in the gift or appointment of the said Company, or of himself as a Director thereof."

Indeed the discussions before Parliament and the public shew the watchfulness with which this oath is attended, were it not taken by men who stand as high for honourable principles as any community in the world. Not only is there the check of the public on this oath, but the vigilance of the Court of Directors themselves, in preventing the most remote or indirect infringement of it is deserving notice. In 1827 the Court suspecting that a sale of patronage had occurred, they immediately brought before the public the whole of the parties concerned in the transaction, notwithstanding that one of the parties implicated was a member of their own body; some of the accused were convicted and imprisoned;—and several years ago a Director was thrown out of his situation, in consequence of being engaged in some trafficking in his patronage. Whenever the Court have surmised that any negotiation has been on foot for the obtainment of patronage, they have left no means untried to discover the source, and the individuals concerned; they have even recalled several of their

* 49 Geo. III. c. 126.

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civil and military servants from India, and dismissed them entirely from their service, in consequence of discovering that their appointments were unduly obtained, although the young gentlemen themselves were unconscious of it; while their friends or parents who had entered into the penalty bonds of £3,000 sterling, forfeited the same, in consequence of such discoveries!

But it may be asked, how then is the patronage of the Directors distributed? A Director is generally a retired civil, military, or commercial Indian gentleman; he has passed the greater part of his life in the east, and destines his sons for the same country, probably it is that of their birth; his family claims, if he have provided for them, are succeeded by the claims of talent and indigence, which, it is but just to state, have ever met with encouragement at the India House;* many army and naval officers having no other patrimony than their sword, have had their children provided for,—numerous individuals toiling in the east, in the Company's service, have been cheered on in their arduous task by the prospect of provision being made for their children, if their talents entitled them to it. But that it may be seen the manner in which the patronage of the Court is diffused, I take a classification of writers appointed during the last five years.

APPOINTED from the COMPANY'S COLLEGE at HAILEYBURY.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sons of Noblemen | No. 3 |
| Do. Baronets | 8 |
| Do. Clergymen | 14 |
| Do. Directors | 8 |
| Do. Company's Civil Servants | 30 |
| Do. ditto Military ditto | 22 |

* Many orphans and others, whose misfortunes and merits were their only claim, have received appointments from donors whose names they have never yet learned, and to whom they were perfect strangers.



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| | |
|---|---|
| Sons of Company's Naval Service Officers .... | No. 42 |
| Do. his Majesty's Military and Naval Officers.. | 27 |
| Do. Merchants, Bankers, Professional and Private Gentlemen .................... | 110 |
| Total...... | 226 |

Appointments from the London Board for Candidates.

| | |
|---|---|
| Sons of Clergymen ........................ | No. 7 |
| Do. his Majesty's Army and Naval Officers .. | 10 |
| Do. Company's Civil Servants .............. | 16 |
| Do. ditto Army and Navy ............... | 10 |
| Do. Merchants, Bankers, Professional and Private gentlemen ..................... | 36 |
| Total...... | 79 |

This patronage which now operates as a reward for past efforts or deeds of the donor, and an approbation of existing merit, as well as a stimulus to future exertions for the receiver, is like the tributary streams of a mountain torrent, which circulate over a country but to beautify and fertilize it; but which, pent up in its rocky channel, would not only idly run its course to the ocean, but frequently overflowing its banks, prove formidable sources of evil and danger.

I need say no more as to the Reviewer's unjust statement, it would have been well if he had adhered to his intention, "not to deal with mere assertion, when no facts were before him respecting patronage;"* they are now before him and open to his criticism.

The crown possesses through the President of the Board of Control, a *direct* patronage, equal to that of the chairman or deputy chairman of the Court, which is equivalent to that of two Directors, in addition to the appointment of judges, bishops, the officers of the king's army and the king's navy in India; there is also vested in ministers, through

* Page 98.

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the president of the Board, other powers, *viz.*, permission to grant licenses to free mariners; the president acts independent of the Directors in recommending officers of the Indian army for the honours of the Bath; countersigns warrants and letters-patent relating to the see of Calcutta; warrants of approbation of governors and commanders-in-chief, also warrants of dismissal of any public officer in India, and although the Court of Directors may recall a governor, assigning criminatory reasons as the cause, the Board of Control may convert them into commendatory reasons, though the recall must take place.

The *indirect* patronage of the crown is also very great: it is true that the nomination of the governor-general, the governors of the presidencies, the commanders-in-chief, and members of council in India, is vested in the Court of Directors, but a negative is placed on the nominations of the Company, by means of a power granted to the King to recall, by an order under his sign-manual, any of the civil or military functionaries in India. Now, although this measure was in all probability designed for the purpose of securing the services of men best qualified for the stations which they were called on to fill, yet it appears from the evidence before Parliament that the crown has for some time taken advantage of the controlling power vested in the King, and swayed the general and higher patronage of the Court of Directors. Mr. Courtenay says, that the appointment of governors, &c., is generally by a compromise between ministers and the Court of Directors; the Court consenting to a particular appointment, on condition that the next nomination shall be at their own disposal. But if we look at the names of the distinguished and talented individuals who have filled the most exalted stations in India, since the days of Lord Teignmouth, we shall find that, however great their abilities,



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they were more indebted to their Whig or Tory friends than to the former, no matter how splendid.

It would be a libel on the Court of Directors to say that they would not, if they had the power, always select men like Elphinstone, Malcolm, Metcalf, Bayley, or Jenkins, to fill the posts of governors, or governors-general, instead of Lord Clare, Sir Frederick Adam, Mr. Lushington, or Lord Amherst; no matter how great the *general* knowledge of the gentlemen alluded to.

These remarks are not made invidiously towards the latter named individuals; I have as little doubt that the Marquis of Cornwallis, Marquis of Wellesley, Earl Minto, Marquis of Hastings, and Lord William Bentinck, or Sir E. Paget, Lord Combermere, Lord Dalhousie, or Sir E. Barnes, owed their appointments to the Ministers of the day, and not to their great energies or talents, as I have in any of the preceding cases. I merely mention the circumstance to shew the vast extent of patronage already enjoyed by the crown in India, every governor-general, governor, commander-in-chief, judge, bishop, &c., appointed under its influence, necessarily swaying the opinions of an immense number of subordinates abroad, and of relatives, friends, and connections at home.

Those who thoughtlessly yield assent to the idea of pulling down the present system of Indian home government, would do well to attend to the declaration of Earl Grey when assigning one of his important reasons for bringing forward the Reform Bill, *viz.* to prevent the exercise of a government of patronage in England, substituting therefor one of moral influence; while the proceedings, with regard to the civil list, prove that the power and prerogative of the crown is considered as already sufficiently extensive, consistent with due security for the liberties and happiness of the people. Whether the Court of Di-

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rectors be deprived of their patronage or of their political power, in either case the influence which would devolve on the ministers of the crown would be very great. Were the patronage of appointment transferred to the universities, &c., as is proposed, the Directors would require remunerative salaries for the duties they now perform. On the other hand, if the Court of Directors were abolished, a ministerial department would have to be created to supply their place, and a variety of important offices of the state, eagerly coveted by the aristocracy of the land, together with the great establishment of the India House which could not be dispensed with,* would be at the disposal of the crown. If to all this we add the turning over of the Indian army to the king, and the conversion of the Peninsula of Hindostan into a Colonial possession, both of which events are now being discussed before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, we shall have a government at home strong enough at any time to follow the example of Spain

* The total expenses of the India House are about £360,000 a year, of which £72,000 is commercial, and the remainder political. While on this subject, I must notice the unfair statement of the Westminster Reviewer as to the India House charges having increased £100,000; to endeavour to eke out which, he has tacked on the pensions to the salaries, and entirely omitted the consideration of the great extent of business which has taken place since 1814 in Indian affairs, and which in every government seems to go hand in hand with civilization and freedom. I recommend the Reviewer's attention to the following parliamentary return:—

TOTAL NUMBER of PERSONS employed by the EAST-INDIA COMPANY in ENGLAND.

| | No. | | Expenses. |
|---|---|---|---|
| In 1827 .................. | 3,932 | .... | £397,318 |
| In 1829 .................. | 3,490 | .... | 353,688 |
| Diminution...... | 442 | .... | £43,730 |

The Secretary's-office at the India House includes fifty-six persons; in 1827, it cost £20,333. The expense of the Examiner's-office is about £21,000; that of the Military Secretary's, £6,000. The expense of the India Board is about £30,000 a year.

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and Portugal, when their respective monarchs were sovereigns in Asia and America!*

I will not dwell longer on the foregoing circumstances, notwithstanding their incalculable importance to India as well as to England, because every intelligent person who marks the progress of passing events, will I think perceive, in the preceding sketch of the Home governments of India, the existence of present benefit as well as the germ of future advantages, and the positive danger to both countries by rash or crude plans of fancied perfection being urged for adoption at this eventful crisis of the world; more especially if the growing instability of peace between Great Britain and Russia, be reflected on† and the power which the latter possesses (which need not be denied) of embarrassing this empire in a very vulnerable portion of it, and which might prove as inimical to the permanent connection of the British dominions, as the incursion of northern and western barbarians, in former ages, proved fatal to the proud and widely conquering mistress of the earth. Prudence, therefore, independent of warmer feelings, would dictate the advantage of continuing the present system of Home Indian government (without permitting a further addition of patronage or power to the crown), according to the motto of the East-India Company, "*Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ;*"—while the increasing vigilant control of Parliament, the fast growing

* One witness before Parliament in the present year, Mr. Holt Mackenzie I think it is, told the Committee he thought Ministers would be in want of some more patronage since the passing of the Reform Bill, and therefore they should have that of India! Would Mr. Mackenzie force on Earl Grey that which he brought in the Reform Bill to obviate the necessity of declaring that no honest man could be Minister under the present system?

† Since the foregoing was written, Lord Durham's special mission to Petersburgh has been announced, one of the alleged causes of which is an intrigue with some of the northern powers on our Indian frontier.

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influence of public opinion, and the omnipotence of the press, will from time to time, suggest and carry into effect such improvements as may be safely, and with a prospect of permanent benefit, enacted; recollecting always that governments are not like a forge nail, struck out at a single heat of the iron, but like an oak tree which grows from year to year, and the greater its age the deeper and firmer become its roots, until at last transplanting (or change) would be fatal to the existence of the forest monarch.

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## CHAPTER IV.

FREE TRADE WITH INDIA—WHAT HAVE BEEN ITS RESULTS OF LATE?—A DECREASE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS!—THE ASSERTIONS OF MR. CRAWFURD REFUTED—INCREASE OF COTTON GOODS OWING TO THE DISPLACEMENT OF SEVERAL MILLION OF HINDOO MANUFACTURERS—DEPLORABLE EFFECTS THEREOF DESCRIBED BY BISHOP HEBER AND OTHERS, WITH REGARD TO SURAT, DACCA, &C.—RESTRICTIONS ON THE INDIA TRADE BY PARLIAMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT; NOT BY THE COMPANY, WHO HAVE GIVEN EVERY FACILITY FOR COMMERCE.

THE flux and efflux of prosperity and distress, by which England has been alternately excited or depressed, has given birth to a variety of projects for the mitigation of evils necessarily attendant on such constitutional convulsions; and which, in their paroxysms or subsequent *syncope*, are equally fatal to the permanent health and happiness of the nation. One of the most specious delusions of the present day is the cry of "a free trade with India," which coupled as it is supposed to be with the downfall of the "East-India Company's monopoly" forms the standing toast, and the electioneering test of large bodies of respectable individuals, who have heretofore been looking at only one side of the question, apparently quite forgetful that every case, however bad, has two aspects. I do not commence this chapter with an intention to espouse the cause of monopoly in trade, for I think that internal commerce in the hands of a few is as injurious, in a mercantile view, as the exclusion of the many from political power is detrimental to

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liberty.* But I might, did space and time permit, shew the extensive trade which the East-India Company created, fostered, and still protect for the benefit of the people of this country; that, when "assailed by the malignant rivalry of foreign Europeans, with the weapons both of art and arms, sacrificed by their own rulers to favoritism and foreign influence, and weighed down in common with the rest of their own countrymen, by the effect of wars† and revolutions, the Company yet preserved the national station in the India trade, by dint of extraordinary exertion and at an immense expense,‡ a trade most valuable in itself, and still more valuable as including the reversion of an empire;"§—I might with truth assert that the blood and treasure spent in procuring a pre-occupancy or pre-eminence for Englishmen in the eastern hemisphere, is

* I beg to refer to the introduction of my work on the Tea Trade, for the definition of political and commercial liberty, foreign and domestic, of which America affords an example.

† Mr. Rickards says, that during the eight years' war which ended with the treaty of Ryswick, the Company (as well as the public) sustained vast losses, their trade being reduced to so precarious a state that for several years they were unable to divide any profits. During the war 4,200 British merchant ships were captured by French ships of war and privateers; among the captured were several valuable homeward-bound Indiamen. Rickards' India, vol. iii. p. 445.

‡ Macpherson, in his History of the European Commerce with India, gives a detailed account of the sums of money paid to the public by the East-India Company for permission to erect that splendid empire which they have added to Great Britain. The sums thus paid amounted, from 1708 to 1793, to upwards of ten million sterling! The expenses to the Company caused by the home wars carried on by government against France, America, &c., were upwards of fifteen million sterling, previous to those of the present century! In 1799 the East-India Company raised 6,000 seamen for the navy, and built, armed, and completely equipped three ships of seventy-four guns each for the crown. In 1803 the Company presented 10,000 tons of shipping to the public for six months, or longer if required; large sums were paid in bounty for seamen. The expenses which fell on the Company by the American war were upwards of £4,000,000! Many other sums of immense value might be added to these items; but perhaps the public of the present day would not heed them.

§ Expressions of the Right Honourable Robert Grant.

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almost incalculable in its worth; that the improvement in our manufactures, in naval skill and architecture, and in the languages and literature of Asia, have been in the preceding much indebted, and in the latter, mainly owing to this commercial corporation, (of whom it would be difficult to say whether their mercantile or their military exertions were the greatest), were I not repelled by the irksomeness of detail, and encouraged by the hope that the principles of gratitude have not departed from a land in which they were once supposed to hold their favoured abode. Let us therefore proceed to examine the nature of our present trade with India, and the effects which have resulted from the opening thereof (as it is termed) since 1814. Before doing so, however, I cannot avoid offering a few remarks for the removal of two or three mistaken ideas respecting the East-India Company's and the free trader's, commerce, previous, and subsequently to, the last renewal of the charter.

1st. It has been alleged that the trade carried on by the East-India Company was one of bullion, principally as regarded the exports from England to India and China; and that, in fact, the Company did not pay sufficient attention to British manufactures as a medium for commerce.

Independent of the moral obligation by which the Company have ever considered themselves bound on the latter part of the assertion, a very few figures will disprove the charge. With regard to India it is unnecessary to say any thing, because, as Lord Althorp observed,* that country yields several million of tribute to England annually; I therefore turn to China, and perceive a decreasing exportation of bullion from the commencement of our intercourse, and an increasing shipment of merchandize.

* In the debate on Mr. Alderman Waithman's motion, 3d July 1832.

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East-India Company's Exports to China.

| Years. | Bullion. | Merchandise. |
|---|---|---|
| | £. | £. |
| 1708 .................. | 32,387 | 1,571 |
| 1805 .................. | 200,000 | 1,114,484 |
| 1816 to 1827 ............ | 354,389 | 9,377,996 |

Indeed the calculation of bullion for the latter period is brought down too far, for as it is stated in the Edinburgh Review :* since 1820 the " East-India Company have not exported a single shilling in bullion ;" on the contrary, the Company are now importing large quantities of bullion into England.†

2d. It is alleged that the Company's trade was " always verging towards a decline" from an early period, and that it had dwindled to nothing at the conclusion of the last charter.‡ The following refutation will prove the untruth of this assertion.

Merchandize§ exported from England by the East-India Company.

| Years. | Total Amount. | Annual Average. |
|---|---|---|
| | £. | £. |
| 1708 to 1734 ............ | 3,064,744 | 117,875 |
| 1734 to 1766 ............ | 8,434,769 | 263,586 |
| 1766 to 1793 ............ | 16,454,016 | 609,408 |
| 1793 to 1810 ............ | 31,060,752 | 1,833,573 |
| 1810 to 1820 ............ | 21,413,807 | 2,141,380 |

Mr. Milburn, from whose Parliamentary compilations the foregoing tables are derived, says, with reference to

* No. CIX., April 1832: article on the Precious Metals, p. 56.

† Vide Sir Charles Forbes' speech in Parliament, 3d July 1832.

‡ The whole export commerce of England seems to be declining in *value*:—

At the end of the last century, *real* value of exports £37,193,736.
In 1830 .................. ditto ...... ditto.. £35,713,821.

§ Bullion is purposely excluded.

the last period particularly: — "more than one-half (*i.e.* £10,700,000) consisted of the staple manufactures of England, woollens."*

If it were necessary to demonstrate yet further the absurdity of the charge, I might quote other writers, such as Mr. Crawfurd, who makes it a matter of censure against the Company that they expended £1,668,103, in order if possible to extend the consumption of British manufactures in China! †

Let us now examine the Company's import trade into England for a century, and observe therefrom whether the returns shew a declining commerce.

MERCHANDIZE imported into ENGLAND by the EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

| Years. | Amount. | Annual Average. |
|---|---|---|
| | £. | £. |
| 1708 to 1734 .......... | 33,571,709 | 1,291,295 |
| 1734 to 1766 .......... | 64,452,377 | 2,014,136 |
| 1766 to 1793 .......... | 101,382,792 | 3,747,510 |
| 1793 to 1810 .......... | 102,737,954 | 6,043,409 |

How incontrovertible is the denial which the two foregoing tables present, to the assertion of Mr. Crawfurd, that "*for a full century, at least*, reason, common sense, and the principles of science have been alike set at defiance to serve the purposes of a party; set at defiance, as experience has amply attested, *for the virtual purpose of obstructing the commerce of England*, and arresting the progress of improvement in India!"‡

It is unnecessary to prove by another detail of figures,

* In 1822 the East-India Company lost £500,000 by the burning of their factory at Canton: of this sum three-fifths were in woollens.

† Chinese Monopoly examined, p. 24.

‡ Crawfurd's Free Trade and Colonization of India, second edition, p. 1.

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that an export trade which progressively increased from £117,875 to £2,141,380, and an import trade which augmented from £1,291,295 to £6,043,409 annually, was neither "always insignificant and fluctuating, nor generally retrogressive;"* I therefore turn to observe what progress the Indian free-trader has made since 1814; whether it has been, as Mr. Crawfurd boldly asserts, "steadily progressive, and devoid of the fluctuation and retrogression which monopoly traffic always and generally exhibits." (P. 4.) In my endeavour to elucidate the truth, I will not, as Mr. Crawfurd has done, use "official" or "relative" value, according as it makes for or against my argument: I will endeavour to quote, from the Parliamentary papers, the *quantity* of the articles exported and imported, as the *fairest way* of judging the question; nor will I conceal, as the same *impartial* writer has done, that in 1814 and 1815 one of the most devastating wars with which the world was ever cursed had subsided, and set afloat an immense quantity of capital used in government loans, &c., and a vast number of ardent and intelligent minds, seeking employment, while the amount of transport shipping made available for purposes of trade, was such as to reduce the cost of freight to one-fourth of what it had been during the war:† neither will I omit to state, that the East-India Company had for more than two hundred years been preparing the way for the free-trader, not by a "piddling commerce"‡ but by one amounting to upwards of £8,000,000

* Free Trade and Colonization, before referred to, p. 1, *et passim*.

† Mr. Gordon, in his evidence before Parliament, speaks of freight from India, being in 1814, £25 per ton, which at present, he says, is not more than thirty shillings; the witness added, "I have known freights at fifty guineas a ton on the Company's ships before the opening of the trade; it is as low as *fifteen shillings* a ton at present." Commons' Evidence, 22d February 1831, p. 35.

‡ Mr. Crawfurd, Free Trade, &c., p. 3.

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annually, and by obtaining the highest reputation for British manufactures* wherever they could be introduced; † and it would be unjust to neglect adverting to the wonderful productive power of machinery since 1814, particularly in the article of cotton goods, which in the export trade to India alone has supplanted £2,000,000 worth of native manufacture.‡ Equally unfair would it be for me to refrain from mentioning the throwing open of the Malay peninsula to the free-trader,—the new commercial relations with foreign powers in the Gulph of Persia and other places,—the doubling of the East-India Company's army since 1814, and the consequent increased demand for British goods,—the heavy supplies requisite for expensive wars against the Goorkhas, the Pindarries, the Burmese, &c.—the great accession of territory during the period,—and the naturally increasing wants of the natives themselves, as they accumulated wealth, and became habituated to the conveniences and luxuries of life, previously introduced among them by the East-India Company; § and of which

* A fact honourably testified by Mr. Walter Hamilton.

† The mission of Messrs. Bayley and Rutherford to the N.W. frontier, is one instance out of many of the strenuous efforts of the East-India Company to extend the knowledge of, and a taste for, British manufactures.

‡ Mr. Gordon states in his evidence this fact, which is sedulously kept out of sight by Mr. Crawfurd; it is as follows: "At the opening of the free trade, Calcutta exported to London two million sterling in cotton piece goods; at present it receives instead, two million sterling of British manufactured cotton," p. 36. Abstract this £2,000,000 to Calcutta, and the other sums which British cotton manufactures have produced in different parts of India, at the expense of the poor Hindoo weavers, (to the number of several million), and where, I ask, would be the triumphant boast of Mr. Crawfurd as to the quantity of the free trade, leaving for the present out of sight the more important question of *profit?*

§ Mr. Gordon, Mr. Ritchie, and other mercantile men, when asked what articles have been extended in consumption by the free-traders since 1814, invariably mention "cotton goods and speltre:" the former, be it observed, having driven the Hindoos out of the home market, and the latter, the Chinese out of the Indian market; rendering

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the price has been so extraordinarily lessened, that before 1814 twenty per cent. was made in the India money market, while the interest now demanded has been reduced to five per cent. Moreover, that the countries which the free-trader has had open to him have been "all places eastward of the Cape of Good Hope (except China), *viz.* the various and improving British colonies in the eastern hemisphere, such as our settlements in Africa, New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, Mauritius, Seychelles, Ceylon, the South Sea Islands, the rapidly improving commercial mart of Sincapore, and the numerous islets in the Indian archipelago; in fine, that since 1814 the import duties in India have been reduced to two and a half per cent. ad valorem on English manufactures, many staple articles admitted free of duty, transit duties modified, or in many instances entirely withdrawn,—permission given to Europeans to hold lands, and, even Mr. Crawfurd admits, that "considerable pains have been taken by the Company, since the commencement of the present charter, for the accommodation of private merchants in the sale of

ing both less able to become consumers of articles of *general* manufactures; contrary to the wise policy which the East-India Company aimed at accomplishing. If, then, the exportation of cotton goods and twist be set aside, as a branch of commerce unforeseen by all parties in 1814, we shall see whether the free-trader, under all these advantages, has made the great progress which has been so vauntingly proclaimed:

| | |
|---|---|
| Total Exports to the East-Indies and China in 1828, | £5,212,358 |
| Deduct Cottons ...................... | 2,049,890 |
| | £3,162,468 |
| Deduct East-India Company's Exports .. | 1,098,810 |
| Free trade natural Exports in 1828 ...... | £2,063,658 |
| East-India Company's Exports averaged by Milburn to 1810.............................. | 2,141,380 |
| Balance in favour of the East-India Company, without any of the foregoing natural and artificial advantages ........................ | £77,722 |

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goods."* If all this be reflected on, the wonder will not be, that the British unincorporated commerce with Asia has augmented so much since 1814, but that it has progressed so little.

It would be useless to give the whole of the tables in the Parliamentary returns; I shall quote such years as may serve to disprove Mr. Crawfurd's assertion, respecting "non-fluctuation" and "steady progression" being the characteristic of the Asiatic free-trader.

Exports from Great Britain to all places Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope (except China), distinguishing the principal Articles, by Private Traders.†

Unwrought Steel exported from Great Britain.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 | cwts. 16,005 | 1824 | cwts. 1,861 |
| 1817 | 20,354 | 1825 | 1,652 |
| 1818 | 26,829 | 1826 | 2,020 |
| 1819 | 17,881 | 1827 | 6,789 |
| 1820 | 10,801 | 1828 | 4,506 |
| Total.... | cwts. 91,870 | Total.... | cwts. 16,828 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period | cwts. 91,870 |
| Ditto of last ditto. | 16,828 |
| Decreased trade | cwts. 75,042‡ |

The first article which I have examined, "unwrought steel," is certainly not in favour of the opponents of the

* Evidence to Board of Control, 7th March 1832.

† Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, No. 37.

‡ From another Parliamentary document I derive the following figures, which gives the quantity of "Iron and Steel" exported by the private-trader at two periods.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 | tons 10,473 | 1824 | tons 9,013 |
| 1817 | 13,047 | 1825 | 7,107 |
| 1818 | 13,847 | 1826 | 6,211 |
| Total.... | tons 37,367 | Total.... | tons 22,331 |

Decreased trade on three years .. tons 15,036

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East-India Company, who would fain make the British public believe that the private-trader was carrying all before him in the East;* I say nothing yet as to profit, that point also is entirely thrown overboard. Every person who knows the effects of improvement in machinery and blast furnaces which have taken place since 1816, and the consequent reduction of the cost price of iron and steel, will indeed be surprised that this is all the boasted advantage which, with so many and such wonderful facilities, the free-trader has conferred on a staple ranking high in British commerce.

QUANTITY of QUICKSILVER exported from GREAT BRITAIN.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 | lbs. 283,708 | 1824 | lbs. 8,274 |
| 1817 | 383,897 | 1825 | 81,712 |
| 1818 | 943,835 | 1826 | 105,162 |
| 1819 | 444,008 | 1827 | 151,681 |
| 1820 | 288,363 | 1828 | 46,833 |
| Total.... lbs. | 2,343,811 | Total.... lbs. | 393,662 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period.......... lbs. | 2,343,811 |
| Ditto of last ditto | 393,662 |
| Decreased trade .......... lbs. | 1,950,149 |

Here we see a decrease on the last five years of nearly two million of pounds!

I now turn to the silk manufactures, and do not see what great benefit the free-trade has conferred on the starving weavers of Spitalfields and Coventry. The declared value of the exports is alone given in the returns:—

* The total quantity of British shipping which entered the several ports of Great Britain from *all Asia* for the last six years, ending 5th January 1832, shew very little increase:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1826 | tons 101,683 | 1829 | tons 111,359 |
| 1827 | 103,436 | 1830 | 106,054 |
| 1828 | 101,467 | 1831 | 106,828 |

at 15*s*. and 20*s*. per ton freight!



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SILK MANUFACTURES exported to the EASTWARD.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1814 | £18,079 | 1824 | £14,490 |
| 1815 | 25,957 | 1825 | 5,894 |
| 1816 | 25,921 | 1826 | 9,646 |
| 1817 | 47,446 | 1827 | 11,282 |
| 1818 | 27,262 | 1828 | 20,058 |
| Total | £144,665 | Total | £61,370 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period | £144,665 |
| Ditto of last ditto | 61,370 |
| Decreased trade | £83,295 |

Manufactured silks is one of the items which Mr. Rickards says, the free-traders have so vastly extended the export of, according to his infallible prediction in 1814. However, I pass over Mr. Rickards' unfair statements to quote another article in the return, the manufacture of which is of considerable value in England:—

NUMBER of HATS exported to the EASTWARD.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1815 | doz. 3,279 | 1825 | doz. 1,895 |
| 1816 | 3,301 | 1826 | 846 |
| 1817 | 5,032 | 1827 | 673 |
| 1818 | 4,062 | 1828 | 1,697 |
| Total | doz. 15,674 | Total | doz. 5,111 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period | doz. 15,674 |
| Ditto of last ditto | 5,111 |
| Decreased trade | doz. 10,563 |

The decline in the foregoing article is considerable; and here it may not be amiss to state one instance out of many to shew the wild, insane speculation which the India trade has exhibited, and which the opponents of the Company blame them for not imitating or keeping pace with. The value of hats imported into Calcutta in 1819 was 2,69,000 rupees, which, at ten rupees or twenty shillings a hat, would

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give 26,900 hats. Now, the number of hat-wearers in Bengal do not exceed three thousand persons; so that, taking the average consumption at a hat and a half yearly, the supply was about equal to six years' consumption! In 1829-1830 the value of hats imported into Calcutta scarcely exceeded 29,000 rupees.

The next article is a valuable branch of British industry:—

VALUE of TIN and PEWTER WARES and TIN PLATES exported.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 | £18,382 | 1826 | £6,626 |
| 1817 | 34,398 | 1827 | 8,170 |
| 1818 | 26,693 | 1828 | 7,632 |
| Total.... | £79,473 | Total.... | £22,428 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exports of first period | £79,473 |
| Ditto of last ditto | 22,428 |
| Decreased trade | £57,045 |

Under the head of "lead," I find that, in 1816, 1817, and 1818, the quantity exported was 10,238 tons; while the exports of the seven following years were—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1819 | tons 602 |
| 1820 | 432 |
| 1821 | 66 |
| 1822 | 281 |
| 1823 | 318 |
| 1824 | 326 |
| 1825 | 533 |
| Total.... | tons 2,558 |

So that the exports of the three first years were greater than those of the seven last years, by nearly eight thousand tons!



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The exportation of iron, bar and bolt, stands thus:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1816, 1817, and 1818 | tons | 23,972 |
| 1824, 1825, and 1826 | | 17,335 |
| Decrease | tons | 6,637 |

And of iron, cast and wrought:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1816, 1817, and 1818 | cwts. | 214,640 |
| 1824, 1825, and 1826 | | 94,176 |
| Decrease | cwts. | 120,464 |

Hardwares and cutlery are no better than the foregoing:—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1817 and 1818 | £123,260 |
| 1826 and 1827 | 76,568 |
| Decrease | £46,692 |

The intelligent inhabitants of the Potteries will judge whether the next article has realized the expectations which were held out to them in 1815:—

EARTHENWARE of all Sorts exported from GREAT BRITAIN.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 | pieces | 2 233,956 | 1825 | pieces | 957,866 |
| 1817 | | 4,094,163 | 1826 | | 1,414,696 |
| 1818 | | 3,222,022 | 1827 | | 1,937,388 |
| Total | pieces | 9,550,141 | Total | pieces | 4,309,950 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Exportation of first period | pieces | 9,550,141 |
| Ditto of last ditto | | 4,309,950 |
| Decreased trade | pieces | 5,240,191 |

Thus, in 1817, the quantity exported was nearly equal to that of three subsequent years!

The military manufacturers of Birmingham have as little cause to exult over the progress of the Indian trade as the potters of Staffordshire, the cutlers of Sheffield, the silk-

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weavers of Coventry, the iron-founders of Merthyr-Tydvil, or the tin-men of Cornwall:—

GUNS and PISTOLS exported from GREAT BRITAIN.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 | No. 5,916 | 1826 | No. 730 |
| 1817 | 5,769 | 1827 | 543 |
| 1818 | 4,523 | 1828 | 318 |
| Total.... | No. 16,208 | Total.... | No. 1,591 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period .......... | No. 16,208 |
| Ditto of last ditto. | 1,591 |
| Decrease .................. | No. 14,617* |

The private trade exportation of brass and iron ordnance was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816, 1817, and 1818 .................. | tons. 175 |
| 1826, 1827, and 1828 ...................... | 61 |
| Decrease .................. | tons. 114 |

British cordage stands thus, at two periods:

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1817 and 1818 .................... | cwts. 22,468 |
| 1827 and 1828 ........................ | 6,569 |
| Decrease .............. | cwts. 15,899 |

The exportation of wrought copper has not augmented: —

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816, 1817 and 1818 .............. | cwts. 72,460 |
| 1824, 1825 and 1826 ..................... | 38,357 |
| Decrease .............. | cwts. 34,103 |

Brass exhibits great fluctuations, as indeed do all the articles which I am referring to.

* The Exportation by the East-India Company of guns and pistols during the same periods was:—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816, 1817, and 1818 ................ | No. 134,600 |
| In 1826, 1827, and 1828 .................. | 176,272 |
| Increase.... | No. 41,672 |

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**Brass exported from Great Britain to the Eastward.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1815 | cwts. 1,007 | 1825 | cwts. 689 |
| 1816 | 565 | 1826 | 429 |
| 1817 | 1,193 | 1827 | 415 |
| 1818 | 1,035 | 1828 | 280 |
| Total.... | cwts. 3,800 | Total.... | cwts. 1,813 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period | cwts. 3,800 |
| Ditto of last ditto. | 1,813 |
| Decreased Trade | cwts. 1,987 |

Books have made as little progress as brass, notwithstanding the schoolmaster is abroad in India as well as in England:—

**Printed Books Exported.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1815 | cwts. 2,059 | 1827 | cwts. 827 |
| 1816 | 2,495 | 1828 | 724 |
| Total.... | cwts. 4,554 | Total.... | cwts. 1,551 |

That is scarcely half the amount in two years, of one year so far back as 1816! Hodgson and Allsop will not find that their potables have increased much:—

**Beer and Ale exported to the Eastward.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1815 | tuns 5,511 | 1824 | tuns 2,899 |
| 1816 | 6,822 | 1825 | 2,996 |
| 1817 | 4,780 | 1826 | 2,686 |
| 1818 | 3,334 | 1827 | 3,699 |
| Total........ | tuns 20,447 | Total.... | tuns 12,280 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period | tuns 20,447 |
| Ditto of last ditto. | 12,280 |
| Decreased Trade | tuns 8,167 |

In the foregoing article as well as almost all those I am quoting, there was no competition with the free-trader by the Company; indeed, competition would have been madness; it would be similar to two opposition coaches from London to Liverpool, one conveying passengers for nothing,

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the other adding to free-travelling, breakfast, dinner, and supper, gratis!*

The public have heard much about the greatly extended use of European carriages in India—how fond the native gentry are of lolling in them along the "Course," or "Mount-road." Whatever be the truth of the statement, the manufacturers in Long Acre have not benefited, though Messrs. Dykes and Harrowell of Calcutta may have done so; to be sure that is a point which the colonization advocates are aiming to accomplish, namely, a set of coach-builders, &c. in India, who will supersede the same class of persons in England, and render shipping for the conveyance of their goods across half the globe quite unnecessary. However, let Mr. Crawfurd, Mr. Rickards, and Mr. Whitmore settle that trifling point with the tradesmen of England, I proceed with my facts.

In 1815 there were 164 carriages exported to the eastward; this number gradually diminished for ten years, and in 1826 the number exported was only 97!† The value of the former year's export being £15,566; and of the latter £8,298.

It would appear from the following that the Hindoos have not yet become enamoured of European clothing, notwithstanding the ridiculous prices at which it may be bought at Tulloh's, Leyburn's, or Mackenzie and Lyalls'.

* The latest Parliamentary Returns shew a general decline in the export of woollen goods, as much to India as to other countries.

| Total Woollens exported. | Woollens to the Eastward. | Total Blankets exported. |
|---|---|---|
| 1829 pcs. 1,310,853 | 1829 pieces 192,542 | 1829 yds. 2,097,542 |
| 1830.... 1,307,558 | 1830 ...... 161,717 | 1830.... 1,839,961 |
| 1831.... 1,252,512 | 1831 ...... 188,519 | 1831.... 1,176,391 |

† In 1793 the number of carriages shipped for India by one private trader in the East-India Company's licensed tonnage was eighty: in thirty-three years the number exported by *all* the private traders in Great Britain had risen from 80 to 97!

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EXPORTATION of APPAREL to the EASTWARD.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1815 | £14,938 | 1824 | £16,897 |
| 1816 | 22,930 | 1825 | 14,734 |
| 1817 | 25,884 | 1826 | 15,252 |
| 1818 | 36,453 | 1827 | 18,527 |
| 1819 | 30,481 | 1828 | 18,203 |
| Total.... | £130,686 | Total.... | £83,613 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period | £130,686 |
| Ditto of last ditto. | 83,613 |
| Decrease | £47,073 |

The exportation of cabinet and upholstery wares was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1817 and 1818 | £33,036 |
| 1827 and 1828 | 8,542 |
| Decrease | £24,494 |

COLOURS for PAINTERS exported to the EASTWARD.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 | £30,668 | 1826 | £19,042 |
| 1817 | 37,731 | 1827 | 21,121 |
| 1818 | 40,875 | 1828 | 13,204 |
| Total.... | £109,274 | Total.... | £53,367 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period | £109,274 |
| Ditto of last ditto. | 53,367 |
| Decrease | £55,907 |

Glass has fallen off considerably—

EXPORTATION of GLASS to the EASTWARD.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 | £195,910 | 1826 | £96,272 |
| 1817 | 300,090 | 1827 | 106,881 |
| 1818 | 227,533 | 1828 | 112,168 |
| Total.... | £723,533 | Total.... | £315,321 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period | £723,533 |
| Ditto of last ditto | 315,321 |
| Decreased Trade | £408,212 |

The exportation of lace, and thread of gold and silver, was—

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| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816, 1817, and 1818 .............. | £5,479 |
| 1826, 1827, and 1828 .............. | 2,100 |
| Decrease................ | £3,379 |

Leather and sadlery thus diminished :—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816 and 1817 .................... | £104,514 |
| 1825 and 1826 .................... | 51,515 |
| Decrease.............. | £52,999 |

Of the articles which I quote only in value, there is no *quantity* given; the value is, in all instances, "declared" —not the fictitious one of "official."

Plate, plated-ware, jewellery, and watches, were—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1817 and 1818..................... | £144,697 |
| 1826 and 1827..................... | 98,398 |
| Decrease.............. | £46,299 |

The value of musical instruments exported was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816 and 1817 .................... | £31,336 |
| 1825 and 1826 .................... | 21,245 |
| Decrease .............. | £10,091 |

The exportation of provisions was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1815, 1816, and 1817 .............. | £120,509 |
| 1826, 1827, and 1828 .............. | 54,515 |
| Decrease ............... | £65,994 |

Of British spirits—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1814 and 1815 ................ gallons | 11,984 |
| 1826 and 1827 ........................ | 6,742 |
| Decrease.......... gallons | 5,242 |

Of foreign spirits—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1814 ...................... gallons | 160,996 |
| 1826 ............................ | 90,215 |
| Decrease ........ gallons | 70,781 |

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Of stationery—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816 and 1817 | £80,941 |
| 1825 and 1826 | 63,572 |

Of soap and candles—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1817 | cwts. 558 |
| 1827 | 253 |
| Decrease | cwts. 305 |

Of swords—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1818 | number 1,464 |
| 1826, 1827, and 1828 | 349 |

Of wines—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1814 | imp. gallons 281,942 |
| 1816 | 204,092 |

and—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1825 | imp. gallons 192,154 |
| 1826 | 145,170 |
| Decrease | imp. gallons 148,710 |

Unwrought copper is particularly alluded to by Mr. Crawfurd. The exportation was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1819 | cwts. 7,021 |
| 1825 | *nil!* |
| 1826 | cwts. 6,013 |

It would be a waste of time and patience to specify further items, in disproof of Mr. Crawfurd's and Mr. Rickards' statements as to the *vast commerce*, devoid of fluctuation and retrogression, which the free-trader has made in the eastern hemisphere, and that "for fourteen years it has gone on increasing year after year, and at the end of the period is near forty per cent. more than at the beginning of it." * I feel as keenly, perhaps more so, than either Mr. Rickards, Mr. Crawfurd, or Mr. Whit-

* Free Trade and Colonization, p. 15.

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more, for the distresses of the manufacturers in Great Britain; but it is not by deceiving that I can expect to benefit them.

The East-India Company maintained on the last renewal of their charter, that it was practising a delusion on the people of this country, to tell them that immense marts were open to them the moment free trade was declared:—That the trade, of course, would increase in the natural change of things, and owing to the circumstances detailed at page 95, was what every reasonable man was fully aware of; but that India was not the El-Dorada supposed, the best informed men asserted, and the result has justified their experience. Those who deny it, are bound to prove their position in several ways.

*First.* Would the trade with India, as conducted previous to 1814, not have increased in consequence of ulterior circumstances just as much as it has done?

*Secondly.* Has the trade with India been a profitable one to the traders, or merely to the agents who derived a commission from the goods exported? I apprehend that in every branch of commerce the amount of profit realized is of far greater consequence than the amount of merchandize sold.

*Thirdly.* If the cotton trade, by which several million of manufacturers in India have been beggared, be excluded, can it be demonstrated that even under any advantage the amount of trade done has increased of late years.

I venture to affirm that not one of these points can be proved. The first is problematical; the second, thousands of ruined men, widows, and orphans, know too well the truth of; and as to the third, I have given ample details to shew the incorrectness of those who substitute assertion for fact, and flippant language for official date. But even including the totally unexpected export cotton trade, to the extent of

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£2,000,000 or about 2,00,00,000 rupees annually, what does the Parliamentary return No. 40 shew? Why a large decrease during the last ten years in the total amount of goods exported!

DECLARED VALUE of EXPORTS by Private Individuals to INDIA.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1817 ...... rupees | 2,75,89,998 | 1824 ...... rupees | 2,32,56,877 |
| 1818 ............ | 3,78,48,000 | 1825 ............ | 1,89,01,501 |
| 1819 ............ | 2,06,90,557 | 1826 ............ | 1,96,66,848 |
| Total.... rupees | 8,61,28,555 | Total.... rupees | 6,18,25,226 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exports of first period ............ rupees | 8,61,28,555 |
| Ditto of last ditto ........................ | 6,18,25,226 |
| Decreased Trade .......... rupees | 2,43,03,329 |

This view of the subject is also supported by Mr. Bracken, a member of the firm of Messrs. Alexander and Co. of Calcutta, who in his evidence before Parliament thus displays the improvident manner in which the Indian trade was carried on, and which has unfortunately been mistaken for a profitable commerce.

TOTAL IMPORTS of MERCHANDIZE into CALCUTTA.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1817 ............ | £6,850,000 | 1825 ............ | £3,600,000 |
| 1818 ............ | 7,620,000 | 1826 .............. | 3,400,000 |
| 1819 .............. | 6,650,000 | 1827 .............. | 4,150,000 |
| Total.... | £21,120,000 | Total.... | £11,150,000 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Imports of first period .............. | £21,120,000 |
| Ditto of last ditto. .................. | 11,150,000 |
| Decrease on three years ...... | £9,970,000 |

The tonnage of ships arriving at Calcutta under English colours, corroborates these statements, while it is well known that the India country shipping has been completely cut up by the home vessels.

* Appendix to the Report of the House of Lords' Committee.

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ENGLISH SHIPPING at CALCUTTA.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 .......... tons | 117,648 | 1825 ............ tons | 83,163 |
| 1817 .............. | 133,923 | 1826 ................ | 81,814 |
| 1818 .............. | 122,234 | 1827 ................ | 97,882 |
| Total.... tons | 373,805 | Total.... tons | 262,859 |

| | |
|---|---|
| First period ........................ tons | 373,805 |
| Last ditto. ............................ | 262,859 |
| Falling off .................. tons | 110,946 |

The decrease in the tonnage of the latter period would have been much greater, but for the quantity of shipping which the Burmese war brought into operation. With respect to cotton goods, can any manufacturer of Manchester or Glasgow declare he has ever received the prime cost of his goods? Nay—have not hundreds who engaged in the India trade been ruined? Look at the Eastern price-currents from year to year—what do they depict?—"Markets overstocked—glutted—goods unsaleable at any price!"

What does Mr. Wilson say, in his valuable work on the External Commerce of Bengal? "For the last sixteen years the import of cotton goods has been carried to a ruinous extent! In 1823-24 the value imported was nearly six million six hundred thousand rupees, since which it has fallen to little more than one-half:—the selling prices were commonly twenty-five to thirty per cent. below the invoice rates;—heavy losses have also been sustained upon the sale of cotton twist, averaging thirty-five per cent. on the invoice cost!"

After paying freight, insurance, interest, charges &c., stout "six-quarter" cloth, for instance, sold at twenty-eight annas* per yard,—best working sizes bar iron at eight shillings per cwt.;—cordage at twenty shillings per cwt.

* An anna is something more than five farthings.

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Newcastle coals at eight pence for eighty-two pounds; copper bolt and sheathing at thirty rupees per maund*; Hodgson's pale ale at twenty rupees per hogshead; lead at half its prime cost; the finest purpets so cheap that actually during the Burmese war cartridge bags for the artillery were made from them; speltre diminished from twenty-one rupees in 1822 to six rupees in 1829 per maund, leaving three years stock on hand unsaleable at any price; claret and champagne at from two to five rupees per dozen(!) perishable articles at a discount of fifty per cent. or totally unmarketable! Such has been the career of the free-trade to India,—thousands, alas! can testify as to the fidelity of my statement; yet the East-India Company are blamed for not competing in a trade which had more resemblance to the wildest lottery scheme ever invented than to the sober pursuits of commerce!†

Did the wary Americans compete with the free-trader? Far from it: their trade with Calcutta was considerable up to 1819, in which year their imports were in value 9,562,000 rupees; and in 1827 only 2,100,000! Mr. Wilson in 1830, speaking of the continued decline in their trade with India, says, "whenever the export of indigo ceases, and the manufacture is now successfully prosecuted in the States, there will remain *little temptation to America to maintain any commercial intercourse with India.*"

* A maund is 82 lbs.

† The reason why such a system was so long carried on, will be found in a small work which I published on the China Trade in February last.

‡ According to a statement given in by Mr. Bracken to Parliament, the imports into Calcutta were in 1823, 1825, or 1826, less by upwards of one half what they amounted to in 1817 or 1818. Mr. Bracken says, that in 1814 the proportion of the trade of Great Britain with Calcutta, was about $\frac{5}{10}$, and that, now it is about $\frac{7}{10}$; but if the cotton manufactures and speltre, by which the Indians and Chinese have been thrown out of work be considered, there will have been no increase since the opening of the trade?

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AMERICAN SHIPPING at CALCUTTA.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 ............ tons | 14,759 | 1825 ............ tons | 5,541 |
| 1817 ................ | 14,233 | 1826 ................ | 1,983 |
| 1818 ................ | 16,493 | 1827 ................ | 2,788 |
| Total .... tons | 45,485 | Total.... tons | 10,312 |

A decrease on three years of thirty-five thousand tons, shews the prudent character of the American in finding out what the free-traders are now learning, that a little trade with small profit is far better than a great trade with no profit.

Before proceeding to examine the imports into England from India, I give a condensed view of the East-India Company's exports to Calcutta, principally stores for their troops, in order to shew that they have left no means untried to advance the welfare of the British manufacturer.*

* Mr. Crawfurd describes the Company's as always having been a "piddling commerce." By a Parliamentary return it appears, that in woollen goods alone the Company exported £13,000,000 worth from 1800 to 1810. Can the free trader shew as much since the last renewal of the Charter? The private trade exports of cloth of all sorts was—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1823 and 1824 .................... | pieces | 56,313 |
| 1825 and 1826 .......................... | | 47,703 |
| Decrease.... | pieces | 8,610 |
| Of camlets and serges, in 1820 and 1821, | pieces | 52,534 |
| Ditto ditto in 1824 and 1825 ...... | | 20,461 |
| Decrease.... | pieces | 32,073 |
| Other woollen goods, in 1817 and 1818 ...... | | £50,978 |
| Ditto ditto in 1825 and 1826 ...... | | 40,351 |
| Decrease.......... | | £10,627 |

I cannot avoid introducing here a few extracts from the testimony of gentlemen connected with the woollen trade.

Mr. Walford, in his evidence before Parliament in 1830, stated that "he has known the East-India Company to have made various experiments by purchasing articles, some at a higher, some at a lower price, with a view to push the manufactures of this country abroad;" that by "strictly examining the character of every article they purchase,

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East-India Company's Exports from Great Britain to Calcutta.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1816 ........rupees | 25,33,892 | 1824 ........rupees | 28,75,691 |
| 1817 .............. | 28,74,736 | 1825 .............. | 32,28,125 |
| 1818 .............. | 19,88,425 | 1826 .............. | 56,49,431 |
| 1819 .............. | 28,44,876 | 1827 .............. | 36,00,200 |
| Total rupees | 1,02,41,929 | Total rupees | 1,53,53,447 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Exportation of first period .... rupees | 1,02,41,929 |
| Ditto of last ditto .................. | 1,53,53,447 |
| Increase ................ rupees | 51,11,518† |

I merely quote the foregoing‡ that it may in some measure shew the falsity of the several statements which have been put forth respecting the Company's trade to India; and conclude with observing that under the system before described, it would have been the height of insanity for the Company to have competed with the free-trader.

---

It is with painful feelings that I turn to view the export trade of India to England,—a trade which (as the Court of Directors justly say)—" exhibits the gloomy picture of the effects of a commercial revolution productive of much present suffering to numerous classes in India;

chase, the Company establish a character for British manufactures, while their attention is directed to economy, so long as they secure a superiority of the articles they are shipping: A bale of goods with their mark need never be opened." P. 657. Mr. Ireland, an extensive cloth manufacturer in Gloucestershire, said, " The Company buy by open competition, are just in their dealings, and give less trouble than individuals. Had it not been for the Company's trade last winter, some hundreds of our people must have starved." p. 604.

* For the last six or eight years the Company have sent no goods to India for sale.

† In 1794, before the British territories or community in the East were half their present size or number; before the native community had been so well prepared to receive our manufactures; before the invention of steam, the vast reduction in freight, and during the continuance of a terrible war, the exports of the East-India Company amounted to £2,924,829, nearly three million sterling!

‡ From Wilson's External Commerce of Bengal. Parbury, Allen, and Co.

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and hardly to be paralleled in the history of commerce,"—England, I hesitate not to say, has displayed a niggard, selfish, and ungenerous course of treatment towards India in her commercial relations with that country; her incessant cry has been for facilities to export her steam-wrought manufactures to Calcutta &c. at one or two per cent., while, in the tyrannous spirit of a conqueror, she imposes a duty of ten per cent. on the hand-wrought manufactures of the Hindoos, at the same time imposing onerous or prohibitory duties on her Sugar, Coffee, &c. Yet, let England beware—let her recollect that a perseverance in this disgraceful policy lost her the United States of America,—but I am anticipating my subject, let us see what has been the "steady progression," "devoid of monopoly fluctuation," of the free-trader in his imports from the whole eastern hemisphere, with all those facilities in his favour which I detailed at the commencement of this chapter. Mind I do not blame the free-trader for the decrease that has taken place,—I blame the Government and Parliament of this country, and I have scarcely words to express my contempt for those whose constant cry is give us for the people "a free-trade with the east," instead of petitioning Parliament, even tardily, to do justice to the impoverished Hindoos.

COFFEE IMPORTED by the PRIVATE TRADE from the EASTERN HEMISPHERE.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1815 ........ | lbs. 25,778,682 | 1827* .........lbs. | 5,872,097 |
| 1816 ............ | 17,602,796 | 1828 ............ | 7,361,240 |
| Total .. lbs. | 43,381,478 | Total .. lbs. | 13,233,337 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Importation of first period ...... lbs. | 43,381,478 |
| Ditto of last ditto .................. | 13,233,337 |
| Decreased trade ............ lbs. | 30,148,141 |

* In 1825 the import of coffee was only 2,782,376 lbs., and in 1821 little more than one million lbs.!



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This diminution is very great; there was no competition by the East-India Company, for they have imported no coffee of late years, and have given every facility for its growth in their territories.

CARDAMOMS IMPORTED from the EASTWARD.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1815 | lbs. 80,711 | 1827 | lbs. 353 |
| 1816 | 60,427 | 1828 | 9,073 |
| Total | lbs. 141,138 | Total | lbs. 9,426 |

| | |
|---|---|
| First period | lbs. 141,138 |
| Last ditto | 9,426 |
| Decrease | lbs. 131,712 |

In the words of Mr. Crawfurd, "the reader will not fail to contrast this steady progression of legitimate commerce with the fluctuation always, and retrogression generally, of monopoly traffic."*

The import of Benjamin was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816 | lbs. 139,281 |
| 1826 | 5,443 |
| Decrease | lbs. 133,838 |

IMPORTATION OF BORAX.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1815 | lbs. 243,993 | 1819 | lbs. 769,132 | 1827 | lbs. 51,197 |
| 1816 | 442,841 | 1820 | 966,981 | 1828 | 52,837 |
| Total lbs. | 686,834 | Total lbs. | 1,736,113 | Total lbs. | 104,034 |

Camphor is another instance of "*steady* progression:"—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1815 | lbs. 262,476 |
| 1822 | 4,406 |
| 1824 | 471,435 |
| 1826 | 29,006 |

The importation of aloes was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1818 | lbs. 100,510 |
| 1826 | 7,466 |

* Free Trade pamphlet, p. 4.

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Of rattans:—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1815 | No. 4,065,888 |
| 1825 | 338,112 |

Of white calicoes and muslins:—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1815 | pieces 305,340 |
| 1820 | 2,972 |
| 1825 | 214,380 |
| 1828 | 14,998 |

The next article which I shall quote is of considerable importance, and, as shall be shewn in another place, every possible encouragement has been given by the East-India Company for its increased production, whether by Europeans or natives; I take two periods of four years each.

IMPORTATION of COTTON WOOL from the EASTERN HEMISPHERE, by the Free-Trader.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1817 | lbs. 29,310,470 | 1825 | lbs. 18,591,658 |
| 1818 | 67,448,426 | 1826 | 20,129,500 |
| 1819 | 58,141,100 | 1827 | 19,739,045 |
| 1820 | 18,893,002 | 1828 | 31,241,282 |
| Total | lbs. 173,792,998 | Total | lbs. 89,701,485 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Importation of first period | lbs. 173,792,998 |
| Ditto of last ditto | 89,701,485 |
| Decrease | lbs. 84,091,513 |

Another useful article of trade has been considerably diminished, notwithstanding its being indigenous to nearly every part of the East.

IMPORTATION of GINGER by the Free-Trader.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1817 | lbs. 15,465 | 1824 | lbs. 1,807 |
| 1818 | 27,342 | 1825 | 718 |
| 1819 | 20,551 | 1826 | 4,784 |
| 1820 | 21,933 | 1827 | 1,173 |
| 1821 | 13,270 | 1828 | 6,741 |
| Total | lbs. 98,561 | Total | lbs. 15,223 |

| | |
|---|---|
| First period | lbs. 98,561 |
| Last ditto | 15,223 |
| Decrease | lbs. 83,338 |



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Mr. Crawfurd boasts what the free-trader has done for India and for England in the article of "lac, dye and shell," and he triumphantly quotes the importations of 1826 and 1827, at lbs. 744,484, as "a fair example on a small scale" of the recent discoveries which free trade has made: now it appears in the parliamentary returns before me, that the importation of lac dye was nearly as great, twelve years ago, as when Mr. Crawfurd wrote.

Lac Dye Imported.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1815 | lbs. | 598,592 |
| 1822 | | 872,967 |
| 1828 | | 689,205 |

The importation of shell lac has diminished within the last fifteen years:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1815 | lbs. | 575,629 |
| 1818 | | 839,977 |

And—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1826 | lbs. | 443,589 |
| 1827 | | 499,813 |

But in stick lac I find a still greater falling off:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1817 and 1818 | lbs. | 816,056 |
| 1827 and 1828 | | 8,835 |
| Decrease | lbs. | 807,221 |

So much for Mr. Crawfurd's "fair example" of the recent introduction,* in 1826 and 1827, of a new article of commerce by the free-trader! Mr. C., of course quite unintentionally, forgot to add, that the duty on gum lac is only five per cent.; I refer him to the conclusion of this chapter for the duty on other articles of East-India produce.

* The Parliamentary Committee, relying on Mr. Crawfurd's work, asked Mr. Bracken, a Calcutta merchant who has been residing in India for the last fifteen years, whether "lac dye was not a recent introduction as an object of commercial speculation?" Mr. Bracken replied, it had "existed as long as his knowledge went, but the prices have been very discouraging."

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The importation of gum arabic was—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1815 | cwts. | 1,268 |
| 1828 | | 1,224 |

Of madder root, or munjeet—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1814 and 1815 | cwts. | 2,613 |
| 1827 and 1828 | | 1,602 |
| Decrease | cwts. | 1,011 |

Of musk—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1816 | oz. | 5,709 |
| 1827 | | 1,145 |
| Decrease | oz. | 4,564 |

Of nutmegs—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1815 | lbs. | 119,349 |
| 1828 | | 58,115 |
| Decrease | lbs. | 61,234 |

Of castor oil—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1820 | lbs. | 373,832 |
| 1828 | | 151,237 |
| Decrease | lbs. | 222,595 |

Of cocoa-nut oil—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1820 | cwts. | 8,063 |
| 1827 | | 1,469 |
| Decrease | cwts. | 6,594 |

Of olibanum—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1815 | cwts. | 371 |
| 1827 | | 138 |
| Decrease | cwts. | 233 |

Pepper is an article on which Mr. Crawfurd has an opportunity of venting his spleen; the fluctuations are very great in the importations, being some years 10,000,000 lbs.

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in others not half a million! I take two distant intervals of two years each.

IMPORTATION of PEPPER by the FREE-TRADER.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1815 ........ | lbs. 10,633,178 | 1827 .......... | lbs. 9,067,766* |
| 1816 ............ | 7,230,669 | 1828 .............. | 4,978,102* |
| Total.... | lbs. 17,863,847 | Total.... | lbs. 14,045,868 |

Here we see a decrease of nearly 4,000,000 lbs., notwithstanding, as Mr. Crawfurd says, "the culture of pepper is carried on in Sumatra, in Siam, and other countries free from land tax, free from rent, and for the most part from export duties!"—*Free-Trade Pamphlet*, p. 89.

The importation of rhubarb was—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1820 ........................ | lbs. | 146,862 |
| 1828 .............................. | | 51,375 |
| Decrease .......... | lbs. | 95,487 |

Of rice—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1814 ........................ | cwts. | 134,058 |
| 1826 .............................. | | 47,565 |
| Decrease .......... | cwts. | 86,493 |

Of safflower—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1815 .......................... | cwts. | 2,294 |
| 1828 ............................. | | 1,398 |
| Decrease ............ | cwts. | 896 |

Of sago—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1816 ........................ | cwts. | 6,490 |
| 1828 .............................. | | 1,398 |
| Decrease ............ | cwts. | 5,092 |

Of senna—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1816 .......................... | lbs. | 115,696 |
| 1827 .............................. | | 74,801 |
| Decrease ............ | lbs. | 40,895 |

* The East-India Company did not import any these years.

Of Indigo I shall here say but little, under the chapter on colonization I will expose the mis-statements of Mr. Crawfurd; I now merely quote two periods of three years each;* whether the indigo imported during the latter has been yet sold is another question.

Indigo imported from the East by the Free-Trader.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1814 | lbs. 6,752,302 | 1825 | lbs. 5,078,156 |
| 1815 | 5,543,222 | 1826 | 6,345,802 |
| 1816 | 7,238,114 | 1827 | 4,118,435 |
| Total.... | lbs. 19,533,638 | Total.... | lbs. 15,542,393 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Importation of first period | lbs. 19,533,638 |
| Ditto of last ditto. | 15,542,393 |
| Decrease | lbs. 3,991,245 |

Mr. Crawfurd says that the great importation of Indigo into England from India is owing to the free-trader, since 1814; but I find that the quantity of Indigo exported from India to England was greater in any of the years 1805, 1807, 1808, 1810, or 1811, than in 1817, 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1825, or 1827!

The importation of raw, waste, and floss silk was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816 | lbs. 456,721 |
| 1828 | 204,025 |
| Decrease | lbs. 252,696 |

Of turmeric—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1815 | lbs. 1,289,760 |
| 1825 | 98,567 |
| Decrease | lbs. 1,191,193 |

* Let it be remembered that indigo is not taxed like East-India sugar, coffee, &c. Mr. Crawfurd forgets to announce this in his *io pæans* about its vast increase and prosperity by means of the free-trader since 1814.

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It would be but heaping Pelion on Ossa to quote any more items. The total value of the private-trade imports from the whole eastern hemisphere was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1815 | £5,119,611 |
| 1827 | 4,068,537 |
| Decrease | £1,051,074 |

And—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1818 | £6,901,144 |
| 1828 | 5,135,073 |
| Decrease | £1,766,071 |

This, I suppose, is what Mr. Crawfurd calls "rapid progression." That the Company have not, so far as lay in their power, neglected so serious a duty as that of assisting in the exportation of the raw produce or manufactures of the Hindoos, will be seen by the following figures derived from Mr. Wilson's work, which although they refer only to Calcutta will convey a sufficient idea of the efforts made to augment the trade between India and England; and which, indeed, it is for the direct interest of the Company to cultivate to the utmost extent, instead of, as has been foolishly asserted, to throw obstacles in its way:*—

* Mr. Bourne, chairman of the Hull Committee, on the Monopoly of the East-India Company, says, "the Company check and suspend traffic to suit their views and interest." I recommend Mr. Bourne to read the Parliamentary evidence before he repeats his rash assertion. If there be an excuse for Mr. Bourne on the score of ignorance there is none for Mr. Rickards, who had the presumption to write to the Board of Control in reply to their queries (22d June 1832).—"So far from facilities having been afforded by the Company, merchants meet with many obstacles which are at variance with the intentions of the legislature in 1813;" the utter want of truth in this assertion will be demonstrated by the testimony of Mr. Mackillop, Mr. Ritchie, and other private merchants resident in the East, whose knowledge at least renders them more deserving of credit than Mr. Rickards.

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East-India Company's Imports of Merchandize into London from Calcutta.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1814 | rupees 59,31,793 | 1821 | rupees 2,05,58,347 |
| 1815 | 54,99,604 | 1822 | 1,15,18,555 |
| 1816 | 56,03,974 | 1823 | 1,34,66,518 |
| 1817 | 93,00,759 | 1824 | 1,25,31,364 |
| 1818 | 69,99,443 | 1825 | 1,26,78,980 |
| 1819 | 98,68,404 | 1826 | 1,47,83,540 |
| 1820 | 99,30,324 | 1827 | 1,75,37,150 |
| Total.... | rupees 5,31,34,301 | Total.. | rupees 10,30,74,454 |

East-India Company's imports first seven years ........ rupees 5,31,34,301
Ditto of last ditto ........ 10,30,74,454

Increased trade ........ rupees 4,99,40,153

The augmented shipping employed by the Company will be seen from the following statement:—

| Years. | Tonnage. | Men | Years. | Tonnage. | Men. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1816.. | 26,063 | 2,894 | 1827.. | 37,699 | 3,708 |
| 1817.. | 22,326 | 2,305 | 1828.. | 41,388 | 3,929 |
| Total .. | 48,389 | 5,199 | Total.. | 79,087 | 7,637 |

Tonnage and men of first period ........ 48,389=5,199
Ditto of last ditto ........ 79,087=7,637

Increase on two years of tonnage and men 30,696=2,436

The exports of the Americans from India have fallen off nearly as much as their imports. Indeed, of late years the Americans have been purchasing in India, Manchester goods at such a rate as will enable them to obtain a profit for them in New York or Boston!* In 1816, the Ame-

* In a similar manner the French supercargoes purchased large quantities of claret and champaigne in Calcutta, at two and four rupees per dozen, which they had been the agents for selling. This wine was re-exported in ship-loads to Bordeaux, the consigner was ruined, Mackensie, Lyall, and Co. the auctioneers, got their charges, and

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ricans laid in cargoes at Calcutta to the amount of 6,00,000 rupees; in 1818, to the extent of 7,00,000 rupees—but they have ever since continued to diminish; and, as Mr. Wilson says, when the protecting duty which they have enacted for the benefit of their home-manufactured indigo has produced its full effects, there will be no necessity for a single American trader in the Ganges.* Yet Mr. Crawfurd tells the public that the Americans are sweeping every thing before them in the East, free-trader and all;—that people naturally and justly jealous of their

and the immense importation of claret and champaigne was triumphantly adduced as a convincing proof of the increased trade and new tastes of the native community of Bengal!

* By a parliamentary return (No. 2), laid before the Lords' Committee, I find that the tonnage of American ships in China was—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1817 ............ tons | 14,325 | 1826............... tons | 7,034 |
| 1818 ................. | 16,022 | 1827.................. | 8,597 |
| Total.... tons | 30,347 | Total.... tons | 15,631 |
| | | Decrease.......... tons | 14,716! |

Their imports into China were in value—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1818 ...... Sp. dol. | 10,017,151 | 1826 ...... Sp. dol. | 3,843,717 |
| 1819 ............ | 8,158,961 | 1827 .............. | 6,238,788 |
| Total.... Sp. dol. | 18,176,112 | Total .. Sp. dol. | 10,082,505 |
| | | Decrease ...... Sp. dol. | 8,093,607 |

Of the foregoing sum-total on the four years eighteen millions were bullion—Spanish dollars.

Their exports from China were in value—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1818 ...... Sp. dol. | 9,041,755 | 1826 ...... Sp. dol. | 4,363,788 |
| 1819 ............ | 8,182,016 | 1827 .............. | 6,559,925 |
| Total .... Sp. dol. | 17,223,771 | Total .. Sp. dol. | 10,923,713 |

Here also we find a decrease again of nearly seven million of dollars on the exports.

The Spanish, Dutch, and other trades have also declined materially. For seven years to 1821, the Spanish trade at Canton averaged 1,500,000

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rights, could be found to credit such assertions, is far less extraordinary than that an individual could be found who would hazard them.

Observing the following table among the parliamentary documents, I give it to shew the imports into, and exports from, of *Bullion* for the three Indian presidencies, from 1810 to 1827:—

| Years. | Total Imports. | Total Exports. | Years. | Total Imports. | Total Exports. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rupees. | Rupees. | | Rupees. | Rupees. |
| 1810-11 | 2,32,27,099 | 1,209,008 | 1819-20 | 49,922,382 | 3,984,383 |
| 1811-12 | 1,55,35,947 | 2,862,484 | 1820-21 | 33,037,630 | 1,701,252 |
| 1812-13 | 1,37,85,623 | 4,749,985 | 1821-22 | 29,455,390 | 13,198,197 |
| 1813-14 | 98,76,598 | 3,646,669 | 1822-23 | 25,965,225 | 673,511 |
| 1814-15 | 1,46,27,842 | 1,832,408 | 1823-24 | 21,401,996 | 15,444,324 |
| 1815-16 | 2,58,67,158 | 1,257,734 | 1824-25 | 18,590,845 | 4,562,627 |
| 1816-17 | 5,00,46,081 | 1,412,273 | 1825-26 | 24,291,607 | 5,531,129 |
| 1817-18 | 4,70,78,431 | 1,729,957 | 1826-27 | 24,977,289 | 2,185,033 |
| 1818-19 | 7,01,64,170 | 7,569,500 | 1827-28 | 29,330,487 | 9,245,209 |
| Total Rs. | 27,02,08,949 | 2,62,70,018 | Total Rs. | 25,69,72,851 | 9,25,25,665 |

Of this bullion the principal importations have been from China, and the chief exportations to Europe. In 1821 the latter was 1,10,00,000 rupees; in 1823 nearly 1,20,00,000 and in 1827 more than 80,00,000.

By private letters and accounts I find that the importation of bullion from India into England has considerably

1,500,000 Spanish dollars per annum;—for the last five years, it has not been more than 500,000 dollars a year! But amidst the decline of the foreign trade in China, the private English trade under the protection of the East-India Company's factory has rapidly increased:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1813 | Sp. dol. 9,897,044 | 1827 | Sp. dol. 25,502,410 |
| 1814 | 12,256,857 | 1828 | 27,331,042 |
| 1815 | 11,328,697 | 1829 | 31,368,300 |
| Total.... | Sp. dol. 33,482,598 | Total.... | Sp. dol. 84,201,752 |

An increase of fifty millions of dollars on the trade of three years shews the infamy of the assertion, that the East-India Company obstruct the trade with China.

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increased since 1827, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring articles of profitable remittance, the quantity of money withdrawn from India since the failure of Palmer and Co., and the increasing territorial charges of the East-India Company.

I have concluded my monotonous array of figures respecting the free-trade commerce between India and England, reserving some remarks on the staple productions of the former, *viz.* Cotton, Sugar, Tobacco, Silk, Indigo, &c. for the chapter on "Colonization;"—that the commerce with Asia has increased since 1814, admits of controversy; all, however, that I contend for is that it has not augmented to the extent that was so sanguinely anticipated, notwithstanding the extraordinary combination of circumstances that so suddenly were created or apparently fortuitously rose in its favor,—that it has not been steady or progressive but in epileptic fits like;—and that by the increase of the principal article of export, (cottons) many million of Indo British subjects have been totally ruined in their trade, and forced to seek a subsistance by any labour, however coarse or ill-remunerated, that presented itself, while thousands of men and women have perished of want. The general effects of this policy are thus described by Bishop Heber.

*Effects of Free Trade at Surat.*—" The trade of Surat* is now of very trifling consequence, consisting of little but raw cotton, which is shipped in boats for Bombay. All the manufactured goods of the country are undersold by the English, except kinkobs and shawls, for which there is very little demand; a dismal decay has consequently taken place in the circumstances of the native merchants; and an instance fell under my knowledge, in which a Mussulman family, formerly of great wealth and magnificence,

* Formerly the greatest trading port in Asia.

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were endeavouring to dispose of their library, a very valuable one, for subsistence. There is a small congregation of Armenians (the principal merchants of the east) in a state of decay and general poverty," *Heber's Indian Journal*, vol. ii. p. 175.

The decay of the city of Dacca is thus described by the same authority :—

" Its trade is reduced to the sixtieth part of what it was, and all its splendid buildings, the castle of its founder and Shahjehanguire, the noble mosque he built, the palaces of the ancient nawabs, the factories and churches of the French, Dutch, and Portuguese nations are all sunk into ruin, and overgrown with jungle." (*Heber*, p. 141.)

Major-general Sir Lionel Smith, when questioned by the committee of the House of Commons in October last on this subject, said, he " did not think there had been so much prosperity among the native merchants of late;* I do not think they are so rich or so independent as when I first went to India (twenty-two years ago); they *were* immensely rich." Question 5464. Mr. Cotton in speaking of the southern part of India said, " the chief exports from Nagoa and Negapatam were cloths; the trade has fallen off very much; I have known of persons going to the eastward with a cargo, and not being able to meet with a demand for their goods at prime cost, in consequence of the supply of British goods." Question, Lords 1581. " The manufacturers have of course felt that?"—" Of course they have." 1582. Mr. Chaplin says, " I do not think there is any great increase of English manufactures; they use the manufactures of England because they have been latterly much cheaper. Many manufacturers have been compelled

* The decrease in the country shipping of India, *i.e.* of vessels owned by natives and Europeans, separately or conjointly, has it is generally known, been extremely rapid; that of the port of Calcutta in particular.

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to resort to agriculture for a maintenance, a department which is already overstocked." (Evidence, Lords, qu. 2699.) This testimony was elicited in reply to a question, as to whether the natives merely used the manufactures of England instead of those of India?

Mr. Bracken, an incorporated merchant of Calcutta, stated before the Commons' Committee, in February 1831, that in 1827, 1828, and 1829, about seven million rupees worth of cotton twist was imported into Calcutta, and that before the introduction of this article, the yarn for the Indian looms was chiefly supplied by women. Mr. Crawfurd, to be sure, sneers at the preposterous idea, of "a few old women being thrown out of employ;" how many women would seven million rupees worth of twist deprive of bread? How many men would twenty million rupees worth of cotton cloth throw out of employment annually? These and other circumstances arising therefrom are, to be sure, trifling in Mr. Crawfurd's and Mr. Whitmore's eyes, so long as they can ingratiate themselves with the cotton spinners of Glasgow and Lancashire, but it appears rather strange, that Mr. Rickards, who dedicates his elaborate work "to the Natives of India," and professes such a warm interest in their welfare, should so coolly reason on the total destruction of every branch of manufacturing industry in the Indo-British dominions! If Mr. Rickards had devoted two volumes to convince the legislature of Great Britain of the monstrous injustice of forcing our manufactures, nearly duty free, on the impoverished inhabitants of India, while the raw produce of their soil was burthened with imposts, which, indeed, act as complete prohibitions but for the present reduced freight; he would have shewn in reality more genuine sympathy for the sufferings of the Hindoos, and felt less diffidence in offering suggestions for the improvement of India under the present sys-

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tem,* after devoting so many hundred pages to its sarcastic condemnation. When the high-spirited Lord Ebrington told his constituents,† he would, in a reformed Parliament use his best exertions to free our commerce with the East Indies from the restrictions under which it now labours, his Lordship, I presume, referred to the shameful fiscal enactments, by which a British Parliament cramps the industry of seventy or eighty million of British subjects, for the sake of a few slave colonies in the west, or by an unwise timid policy refuses to reduce the duty on such articles of general consumption, as sugar, rum, coffee, tobacco, &c., and which are sufficiently protected from unfair competition with the productions of Jamaica and North America, by a separation of half the globe; If my Lord Ebrington means that the restrictions under which British commerce with India now labours is owing to the East-India Company's government, he has been deceived most grievously. For the information of a nobleman whom every lover of his country and of liberty must esteem, I will state the evidence of Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Mackillop, free Indian merchants, who have resided from eighteen to twenty years in India, pursuing their industrious and honourable calling. Mr. Ritchie replied in the negative to the following question.

"Can you state to the committee from your own extensive experience as a merchant, carrying on trade between this country and India, any general alterations which Parliament might make in the renewal of the charter to the East-India Company, which in your opinion would be beneficial to the interests of merchants?"

This gentleman candidly and honourably said, "he was not aware of any thing that was necessary." Again,

* Mr. Rickards' Evidence before the Lords, p. 545.

† Advertisement in the *Times* journal, 7th July 1832.

he observed, " I am not aware of any impediment whatever under which we labour that could be removed, except taking off the duties."* Mr. Ritchie also observed, that even the local or transit dues which used to be levied on goods going up, or produce coming down the country at Bombay like English turnpikes, have been all taken off; and it is stated by the Parliamentary Committee, that orders have been sent from home "for reducing the custom duties."

Mr. G. Mackillop† thus manfully expresses himself: " so far as the East-India Company are concerned, it appears to me that every facility has been given to the trade of India calculated to promote its increase." Mr. Sullivan thus expresses himself after twenty-eight years residence in India: " Since the opening of the trade in 1814 all inland duty on cotton has been taken off. When exported to China, the duty has been lowered to five per cent, and if to England, no duty is levied.

" I never heard of the local authorities obstructing a merchant in the prosecution of his mercantile engagements, and it stands to reason that they would give every encouragement to their exertions, for the more the trade is extended, the greater will be the revenue."

If the East-India Company threw any wilful impediment in the way of the free-trader, to or from India, then indeed it would be high time for Parliament to consider how soon the charter of the Company might be annulled; but when the very contrary has taken place, a little more courtesy might be displayed by some of their opponents, and a more strict adherence to truth by others. It is generally admitted that the functionaries of the East-India Company are not imbeciles, (indeed, the very reverse is

* The heavy importation duties on East-India sugar, &c., when brought to England, as before stated.

† Letter to the Board of Control, 12th March 1832.

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alleged against them), the smallest portion of common sense informs the Directors, that the greatest degree of reciprocal commerce which can be carried on between India and England, is of the utmost advantage to their interests as well as honour; to obstruct trade, would therefore be a political *felo de se*, and their bitterest opponents complain, that a disregard of "self" is not be counted among the failings of the body corporate.

If Englishmen expect that the Hindoos will consume their goods, they must in return receive a fair proportion of the Indian's raw or manufactured produce. "British India," as Mr. Wilson justly observes, "is a poor country, and must remain so while its population has a perpetual tendency to exceed the means of subsistence, and whilst a large portion of its scanty capital is annually abstracted to enrich a foreign state, and swell the resources of Great Britain." This important fact the natives of India are not only keenly sensible of, but they have had the manliness to come forward and boldly to express it in a petition to Parliament;* I say *manliness*, for I feared it would be many years yet, before the Bengallees would pluck up sufficient courage to state the grievances to which they have been, with so much impolicy, subjected—not by the East-India Company, but by the British Parliament and Government. The following is a portion of their just complaint; I trust that it may be attended to in time:—"That every encouragement is held out to the exportation from England to India of the growth and produce of foreign, as well as English industry, while many thousands of the natives of India who a short time ago derived a livelihood from the growth of cotton and the manufacture of cotton goods, ***are without bread***, in consequence of the facilities afforded

* Vide chapter on Colonization.



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to the produce of America, and the manufacturing industry of England; but sugar, to the production of which the lands of the petitioners might be turned, is loaded with such heavy duties in England, as effectually to shut the market against the industry of the East-Indians, when turned to this particular commodity;" the petitioners, therefore, rightly assert, that "the labouring and manufacturing classes of natives especially, are already suffering grievous hardships, in consequence of the principles of trade and commerce which actuate the English councils, not being extended to India!"

This is a true libel on Great Britain; it ought to make her senators and statesmen blush. Let me, however, try to call them to a sense of what is due to their own country, as well as to India, by placing in juxta-position the rates of duty charged on articles of East-India produce, as compared with West-India and other Colonial produce.*

| Articles. | East-Indies. | West-Indies, &c. |
|---|---|---|
| | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| Sugar, per cwt. | 1 12 0 | 1 4 0 |
| Coffee, per lb. | 0 0 9 | 0 0 6 |
| Spirits, sweetened, per gallon | 1 10 0 | 1 0 0 |
| Ditto, not sweetened, ditto | 0 15 0 | 0 8 6 |
| Tamarinds, per lb. | 0 0 6 | 0 0 2 |
| Succades, ditto | 0 0 6 | 0 0 3 |
| Tobacco, ditto | 0 3 0 | 0 2 9 |
| Wood, teak under 8 inches square, per load | 1 10 0 | 0 10 0 |
| Ditto, not particularly enumerated, *ad valorem* | 20 per cent. | 5 per cent. |

The following enormous rate of duty per cent. on articles of East-India produce, will shew still more the detriment which in reality impedes Eastern commerce:

* From M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aloes* duty per cent. | 280 | Oil of Cinnamon, duty per cent. | 400 |
| Assafœtida | 622 | — of Mace | 3,000 |
| Benjamin | 373 | — of Nutmegs | 250 |
| Borax | 102 | Olibanum | 400 |
| Cardemoms | 266 | Pepper (black) | 400 |
| Cassiabuds | 140 | Ditto (white) | 266 |
| Cloves | 240 | Rhubarb (common) | 500 |
| Coculus Indicus | 1,400 | Rice (Java) | 150 |
| Coffee | 373 | Rum (Bengal) | 1,142 |
| Cubebs | 320 | Sago, pearl | 100 |
| Dragon's blood | 465 | Sugar, Bengal (white) | 118 |
| Gamboge | 187 | Ditto, do. (middling do.) | 128 |
| Gum Ammoniac | 466 | Ditto, low and brown | 152 |
| Myrrh | 187 | Do. China† & Siam (white) | 286 |
| Nux Vomica | 266 | Ditto, ditto, yellow | 393 |
| Oil of Cassia | 343 | | |

Since the foregoing was written I have received a copy of Mr. Poulett Thomson's proposed schedule of duties to be inserted in the Customs Bill about to be introduced to the notice of Parliament. In some instances it will be productive of good to India, in others no relief is afforded. On "all sorts of gums" for instance, the duty is fixed at six shillings per cwt.; by the former rate of duty, gum arabic, an article in extensive use among manufacturers, paid no more than it does at present if imported from a British possession, while formerly the duty on that imported from a foreign possession was twelve shillings per cwt.; this, in fact, is tantamount to an increase of the duty on the gum from a British possession;—the duty on lac dye and shellac was formerly only five per cent., now it is raised to one and six shillings per cwt.; tragacanth, an Eastern gum which paid formerly only one per cent., is raised to the squaring duty; it is the same with other Asiatic gums of great use in manufactures, while those of which the most trifling quantity is required, such as ammoniac, for expensive but valueless medicines or perfumes as regards the poor,

* According to the reduced price, the duty is of course lowered.

† The Chinaman has a good right to complain of the English taxation on his tea and sugar, while we are forcing our cotton goods on him as much as possible.



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are brought to the level of the gums used for varnishes, dyes, &c.

Refined camphor is reduced from £4. 13*s*. 4*d*. to £2. per cwt.; unrefined ditto, from 9*s*. 4*d*. to 1*s*. So far, so good. I am rejoiced to find castor oil (which Bengal can afford of such excellent quality under Mr. Gordon's* improved, but expensive machinery), reduced from £1. 8*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. per cwt. Mr. Thomson has had the good sense to reduce considerably the duty on essential oils; senna leaves also, which the British possessions in India can so well afford in abundance, are reduced from 1*s*. 3*d*. to 6*d*. per lb.; this is hardly low enough, if Mr. Thompson desires to make England an emporium for India produce—a point well deserving his attention, since India is not allowed to manage her own foreign commerce, but is placed at the caprice of the minister of the day in England.

There are other material reductions, which will do more to augment British commerce with the East, than all the petitions and declamations against the East-India Company's monopoly would obtain in one hundred years; olibanum is lowered from £2 to 6*s*. per cwt.; rhubarb from 2*s*. 8*d*. to 1*s*. per lb.; pearl and raw sago from 15*s*. to 1*s*. per cwt.; dragon's blood from £9. 6*s*. 8*d*. to 4*s*. per cwt.; aniseed from £3 to 5*s*. per cwt.; tapioca from 10*s*. to 1*s*. per cwt.; aloes and many other minor articles to 2d. per lb.: but the greatest of all still remain untouched, yet the West-Indians are loudly calling for further reductions; even while I am now writing, Mr. Burge has given notice of a motion for lessening duties on West-India produce.†

Sir Charles Forbes, also, with that enthusiastic feeling

* Mr. Gordon is an Indo-Briton, and one of the most experienced chemists in India. 350,000lbs. of Castor Oil are now annually imported; it makes a beautiful oil for burning in lamps.

† On coffee, from 6*d*. to 4*d*. per lb.; on vinegar, from £18. 18*s*. to £2. 2*s*. per tun; on ginger, from 10*s*. to 1*s*. per cwt.; on pimento, from 5*d*. to 1*d*. per lb.

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for the natives of India which has characterized every act of his life, has given notice of a motion for the reduction of the duty on articles of East-India produce: but it has been plainly intimated to him that he will not succeed in his benevolent and honest intentions.*

In closing this chapter I take leave to remark, that while writing it I have been looking at the question of free-trade with India, not with a narrow or sectarian view, but with a desire to place it in a clear and comprehensive manner, before the candid reader and statesman, who has no interest to serve but that of his country. The mode to benefit India and England (for while united their interests are identified, and a partial or temporary benefit to the one will be certainly succeeded by a punishment which sooner or later overtakes injustice), is not by holding out delusive anticipations which may never be realized, but by putting a shoulder to the wheel, and placing India in some better and fairer position with regard to her produce and manufactures;—not by squeezing the uttermost drop of the vital fluid from her famishing frame, while denying her the means of re-invigorating it, but by generous and just treatment with regard to the duties on her sugar, coffee, rum, cotton, tobacco, &c., pouring the life-blood in her veins, and thus creating a healthy and vigorous existence, which will form the best basis (that of reciprocal interest) for the mutual happiness and lengthened connexion of both countries.

* The Honourable Baronet anxiously watched the Customs Bill while passing through the Committee, in the hope of procuring some reduction on East-India coffee, saltpetre, &c., but there seems to be no feeling in the House for the *Indian* agriculturist or manufacturer; so long as the latter can receive cotton goods and saltpetre, nothing else is cared for; but England sooner or later will suffer for her unjust and ungenerous treatment of the Indian.

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# CHAPTER V.

THE FOREIGN ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA;—CIVIL GOVERNMENT, MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS, AND EXPENDITURE THEREOF;—TABULAR STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, IN PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF CIVIL AND MILITARY SERVANTS, REVENUE, AREA, &C., AND THE EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE, AND DIPLOMATIC CHARGES OF THE THREE PRESIDENCIES;—THE PROPOSAL OF MAKING THE INDIAN ARMY A ROYAL COLONIAL ESTABLISHMENT!

In a preceding chapter, I detailed at some length the home government of the Anglo-Eastern empire; a brief analysis of the foreign government will be requisite to form a connected view of the whole. As in the former instance, I begin at the base; stating the means by which the civil and military services of the Company are supplied as well as managed, reserving the judicial for a separate chapter.

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## THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

The civil service of India, from which the executive, financial, judicial, and commercial departments are supplied, from the provincial magistracy to a seat at the Council Board (or sometimes to the governor-generalship*), originates principally† from the students of Haileybury College, an establishment founded by the East-

* The Right Honourable Lord Teignmouth, for instance.

† By a resolution of the Court of Directors in January 1832, no person will in future be appointed to a writership "unless he shall have passed two terms at the college."

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India Company for the better and surer supply of men qualified to fill the important duties which devolve on an English official, when transplanted to shores where the happiness or misery of millions depends upon his talent, his integrity, and moral firmness of character. The students at Haileybury, who must enter between the ages of sixteen and twenty, are classed in four successive terms of six months each; two entire days in every week are given to Oriental literature, and part of other days. There are four European departments; seven months in the year are devoted to lectures on various subjects; for instance, a student who remains two years at the college, receives in three terms from seventy to eighty hours of law tuition, and altogether ninety hours; he is instructed in elemental knowledge on the limits between morals and law, political and civil rights; in the English and Mahomedan criminal law, and on the law of evidence; the moral and legal obligations of government are also inculcated; the laws affecting property, promises and contracts, and the obligations arising from public and private relations, are carefully taught, as well as the classics, mathematics, and in fact every branch of education which can be requisite for a statesman on the most extensive field of action.

The ablest masters in every language, European or Asiatic, are employed at the college: for Sanscrit as well as Greek, Persian as well as Latin, and Hindoostanee and Bengallee as well as French and Italian, are sedulously cultivated; the most learned professors of philosophy are also in attendance, and every day, except Sunday, there are lectures. The net expense incurred by the Company in this important establishment since its commencement is as follows:*—

* Before the establishment at Haileybury, the Company's college was at Hertford.

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NET EXPENSES of the East-India Company's COLLEGE at HAILEYBURY, from its establishment to the present time; with the number of STUDENTS in each year.

| Years. 1st Period. | Total Expenditure. | Years. 2d Period. | Total Expenditure. | No. of Students. | | Statement shewing the cost of Philosophical Instruments, Books, Medals, &c. | | Statement shewing the Salaries of Professors, Servants, &c. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 1st Period. | 2d Period. | 1st Period. | 2d Period. | 1st Period. | 2d Period. |
| | £. | | £. | | | £. | £. | £. | £. |
| 1805-6 ...... | 16,747 | 1818-19 .... | 10,353 | 11 | 66 | 204 | 550 | 567 | 8,510 |
| 1806-7 ...... | 20,946 | 1819-20 .... | 11,526 | 40 | 86 | 773 | 637 | 5,629 | 8,583 |
| 1807-8 ...... | 30,465 | 1820-21 .... | 11,181 | 72 | 87 | 1,383 | 1,824 | 8,035 | 8,644 |
| 1808-9 ...... | 21,967 | 1821-22 .... | 9,870 | 79 | 76 | 959 | 1,684 | 8,270 | 8,290 |
| 1809-10 ...... | 23,134 | 1822-23 .... | 10,356 | 90 | 76 | 1,121 | 3,224 | 9,596 | 8,218 |
| 1810-11 ...... | 24,906 | 1823-24 .... | 14,135 | 81 | 87 | 1,184 | 1,399 | 9,516 | 8,101 |
| 1811-12 ...... | 10,475 | 1824-25 .... | 10,820 | 84 | 90 | 828 | 1,184 | 9,636 | 8,365 |
| 1812-13 ...... | 13,847 | 1825-26 .... | 10,847 | 73 | 95 | 1,118 | 2,783 | 9,356 | 8,378 |
| 1813-14 ...... | 10,048 | 1826-27 .... | 10,603 | 73 | 86 | 1,478 | 996 | 8,770 | 8,603 |
| 1814-15 ...... | 9,642 | 1827-28 .... | 12,949 | 94 | 82 | 675 | 1,091 | 8,688 | 8,468 |
| 1815-16 ...... | 11,918 | 1828-29 .... | 12,001 | 78 | 91 | 653 | 595 | 9,716 | 8,596 |
| 1816-17 ...... | 10,278 | 1829-30 .... | 14,908 | 73 | 94 | 1,160 | 5,476 | 8,915 | 8,513 |
| 1817-18 ...... | 10,153 | 1830-31 .... | 9,352 | 61 | 73 | 685 | 879 | 9,287 | 8,480 |
| Total .... £ | 214,526 | | 148,901 | 909 | 1,059 | 12,221 | 21,322 | 110,981 | 109,749 |

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The total net* expenses is £363,427, of which the building, &c. cost £96,359. As an instance of the liberal spirit displayed towards this establishment, I may point to the sums expended in philosophical instruments, books, medals, &c., which amount to £33,553, of which in 1829, £4,500 were for various oriental works. The salaries paid to the professors, &c. amount to £220,730, and the total number of students are 1978: so that notwithstanding the great outcry respecting the enormous expense of Haileybury, if the value of the college be deducted (at the least £100,000) and that of the philosophical instruments, library, &c. &c. (£33,533), the total outlay on each student has not been more than £117!

There is a college council,† with the proceedings of which the Court of Directors do not interfere. The acquisition of the oriental languages is considered indispensable; but of the four European departments a student is allowed to keep his terms, unless he fails in more than two of the latter. The relatives of Directors, in their examination for office, stand no better chance than those of any other individual. For the classes of society to which the students belong, I refer to the chapter on the home government of India, where under "Patronage," will be found the various grades to which the students at Haileybury belong. Of the effects of the Company's mode of preparing their civil servants I need not speak, the records of Indian history and diplomacy are open to the public; in them it

* Every student pays one hundred guineas per annum, which helps to defray the expenditure; these sums are, of course, deducted from the gross charges of the establishment.

† The Bishop of London is the visitor; and among the professors and instructors are the celebrated names of the following distinguished gentlemen: Batten, Le Bas, Malthus, Keene, Empson, Smith, and Jeremie. The eminent orientalist, Dr. Wilkins, is visitor in the oriental department of the council; and Vernon Schalch and Mirza Ibrahim are assistant oriental professors.

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will be found, according to the language of Adam Smith (although no friend to the Company), that the Company's servants have "conducted themselves with a resolution and decisive wisdom which would have done honour to the senate of Rome in the best days of that republic!" Were it not invidious, I might particularize among the living and the dead, names which shine forth with unsurpassed lustre on England's as well as India's historic page. But the noblest proof that I can present to the reader is, the Anglo-Eastern empire itself, of which, although it is difficult to say whether the bravery with which it has been won, or the wisdom with which it has been governed, is most conspicuous, yet it will not be denied that the task of conquest was undoubtedly less, compared with the talent and tact necessary for the preservation of what undaunted bravery and skill had acquired.

Notwithstanding this admitted fact, the breaking up of Haileybury College is seriously debated before the Select Committee. It will be immediately asked, why? Some say, because the spirit of innovation is abroad; others, that "a greater standard of talent" is required than Haileybury affords. The *ultras* assert the Court of Directors have *no right at all* to prepare the servants who are to administer their affairs; while the very *extreme gauche* contend, that notwithstanding the East-India Company spent many millions of money in obtaining their Indian territories, they have not the slightest legal or moral claim to them; that they should be instantly turned out of their possessions, and the appointment of writers, cadets, &c. given over to the public, who will employ much more talented servants;* while the other half of the spoliation (or lion's share) should go to the Ministers of the crown! Any person daring

* We should, indeed, have "a new edition of all the talents," were the good public to be the nominators of Indian functionaries!

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to deny the justness of the foregoing truisms, is denounced *instanter* as a "fool," or a "knave." Notwithstanding the risk I run of being classed with either genus, I will venture to assert from personal observation, and from a comparison with the servants of the crown in the different colonies of Great Britain, that in no society can there be found a set of men more distinguished in the aggregate for profundity of talent, patient research, exalted heroism, comprehensive benevolence, or unyielding devotion to their country's interest, than are to be found in the civil and military services of the East-India Company; or who have more permanently contributed to extend the glory, augment the wealth, and increase the boundaries of the British empire.* Those who seek for higher talents will please to observe, that it is in impartial evidence before the present committees of Parliament, that "for students of ability and industry it is impossible to improve upon the Haileybury system:"† Will the idle and profligate meet with a system any where which will render them useful in such a country as India? What in reality is the best education for a youth destined for such a sphere as Hindostan? Is it that which connects itself with the loftiest associations of honour, nay more, with the genuine feelings of Christanity; which makes the morals of the gospel the standard for human rectitude, and, while imparting the necessarily peculiar instruction, aims at the formation of a clear and discriminating understanding? Or is it that showiness of mind, that precocity of genius developed by a sort of hot-bed culture, which, like an exotic, is of beautiful but ephemeral existence, and in age affords no traces of its youth—which, in fact, blooms

* The Right Hon. Robert Grant says, "There does not exist in the world an abler set of functionaries than the civil servants of the Company—a set more distinguished for exercised and enlightened intellect, or for the energy, purity, and patriotism of their public conduct."

† Vide Mr. Empson's decisive testimony.

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but to die, while religion or pure morals, by which man is alone enabled beneficially to govern his fellows, is entirely neglected? Which of these is preferable for the India service? The first is not incompatible with capabilities of the highest order; the latter is too frequently found identified with qualities which render men unfit to govern themselves, much less others. Those who cry out so lustily for having the cream of English talent and genius for the civil service of India, should ask themselves, is nothing but genius and talent requisite for India? Indeed it might be asserted and proved, that they are, under present circumstances, but secondary qualifications—that integrity of purpose, and unflinching morality are now more indispensable for India than the former; the superstructure being built, and its preservation and gradual improvement being mainly required. Our government in India is one of *opinion*, as well as of *strength:* not an opinion of our talent, for in that very many Asiatics would compete with Englishmen; but an opinion of our moral worth, inflexible justice, and undeviating rectitude. These are qualifications above all price in an Indian functionary, to whom the whole management of a province, equal in size to a European kingdom, is frequently entrusted, and whose conduct, of course, influences all around him. But, as I cannot bring myself to believe that the theorism of Lord Grenville will, in the face of facts and common sense, be acted on, I proceed to sketch the mode in which the affairs of government are conducted abroad, merely premising, that the destruction of Haileybury College implies the abolition of the Court of Directors' patronage, and with it a change of which, although we may see the beginning, we know not, and cannot predict, the end.

The governments of India, although delegated from

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Europe, are necessarily possessed of much local efficiency; the Governor General exercises some of the most important rights of sovereignty, such as declaring war, making peace, framing treaties, and to a certain extent, the prerogative of forgiving criminals. He is assisted and partly controlled by a council composed of two of the Company's civil servants appointed from home, and of not less than twelve years' residence in India;* to whom are added the Commander-in-chief of the army.

On all questions of state policy, except in a judicial capacity,† the Governor General is independent of this council; he proposes, for instance, a declaration of war against China;‡ the minute to that effect is delivered to the council, who, we will suppose, dissent from the propriety thereof, and record their minutes assigning the cause; the Governor General, having perused this and remaining of his original opinion, after permitting an adjourned discussion for forty-eight hours, proceeds to execution, first minuting his reasons for dissenting from the council. The Governor General, in virtue of his commission as captain general may head the military operations he has ordered. The whole of the documents relating to the proceedings in council are immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors, and Board of Control; if approved of at home, new members of council are appointed to succeed the former ones; if other-

* This is according to an Act of Parliament.

† The Act of Parliament provides that it shall not be understood as giving authority "to make or carry into execution any order or resolution against the opinion or concurrence of the counsellors of their respective governments, in any matter which shall come under the consideration of the said Governor-General or Governors in Council respectively, in their judicial capacity; or to make, repeal, or suspend any general rule, order, or regulation for the good order or civil government of the said United Company's settlements; or to impose, of his own authority, any tax or duty within the said respective governments or presidencies." (33 Geo. III. c. 52, s. 51.)

‡ All propositions, communications, rejoinders, &c. must be carried on in writing.

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wise, the Governor General is instantly recalled. This hypothetical case is put merely to shew the responsible power which the Governor General enjoys, subject to controlling checks from home. The Governors in Council of Madras or Bombay are in a similar manner independent of local control, but for the sake of obtaining unity in foreign transactions on matters of general or internal policy, they are subject to the authority of the Governor General, who on proceeding to either of the settlements, takes his seat in the council as president.* Regulations for the good government of the interior,† are passed by the Governor General or Governors in Council under the 21 Geo. III. and subsequent acts; they become immediately effective, but are transmitted home, and subject to the revision of the Court of Directors and Board of Control; ordinances for the good government of the presidencies are not valid until publicly exposed for fourteen days, and then registered by the Supreme Court; they are then put in force, but are subject to a further ordeal at home. On arriving in England they are publicly exhibited at the India House, and sixty days left open for appeal; within two years his Majesty may disallow the ordinance.‡

The legislative department being described, we come to the executive, which the government exercises by means of Boards; in Bengal they are thus divided:

* "The Governor General in Council has full power and authority to superintend, control, and direct the governors in all such points as shall relate to any negociations or transactions with the country powers or states, or levying war or making peace, or the collection or application of the revenues of the territories in India, or to the forces employed at any of such presidencies or governments, or to the civil or milliltary governments of the said presidencies," &c. (33 Geo. III. c. 52.)

† All territory beyond the jurisdiction of the Supreme Courts, which, properly speaking, is solely confined to the cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay.

‡ Since 1793, the number enacted for Bengal amount to 150.

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1. *The Sudder Board of Revenue*—Consists of a president (one of the members of council), and three of the Company's senior servants of extensive experience, who exercise a general control over the collectors of the land revenue, under the authority of the Board; are commissioners over divisions of three or four districts, who also exercise under the Nizamut Adawlut court the powers of judges of circuit. The Board is a Court of Wards for lunatics or minor land-holders, &c.

2. *The Board of Customs, Salt and Opium*—Superintends the agents who provide the salt and opium, controls the officers employed in the collection of the customs and town duties, and the collectors of stamps, excise, &c.

3. *The Board of Trade*—Manages the Company's commercial investments, and has nothing to do with political duties.

4. *The Military Board*—Has the management of all military agencies; the distribution of military stores; superintends the construction of roads, canals, bridges, embankments, and buildings in the civil department, and advises the government upon all questions touching the matériel of the army.

5. *The Medical Board*—Attends to the provision and distribution of medical stores; collects and examines the reports of the medical officers, and advises government on medical affairs.

At Madras there are but three Boards, revenue, military, and medical; and at Bombay only one, medical. Any of these Boards make suggestions, or present drafts of regulations in their respective departments to the government; the Boards also receive from their subordinates suggestions, either for their own information or for transmission to the Governor General in council; by this means the local knowledge of the inferior officers is

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brought under the cognizance of the chief executive, and their talent and capabilities appreciated. A leading feature in the duties of the Indian governments, is that of noting down every official transaction, whether as individuals or Boards. As regards the former, it generates habits of business, combined with a moral check of supervision, no matter what distance from the presidency, or what period of time may elapse, should an inquiry be necessary; a beneficial connexion is thus maintained between the highest departments of the state at home or abroad, down to the lowest covenanted servant of the Company. With regard to the Boards, they are obliged also to keep regular minutes of all their proceedings, to report every matter of any importance to the Governor General in council for his sanction; a monthly copy of all proceedings is transmitted to the Court of Directors, as well as to the Supreme government.

A few words is necessary with respect to the European subordinates of the Indian governments, who are in number as follows:—

EUROPEAN COVENANTED and UNCOVENANTED* CIVIL SERVANTS of the COMPANY in INDIA,† and ST. HELENA.

| | |
|---|---|
| In Bengal | No. 579 |
| Madras | 261 |
| Bombay | 215 |
| Penang, Malacca, &c. | 13 |
| St. Helena | 15 |
| Total | No. 1,083 |

I have detailed at the commencement of the chapter, the mode in which the civilians are prepared for their duties at Haileybury College, and in the third chapter, under "Patronage," have shewn the high classes of society to which they belong. On their arrival in India, at Calcutta for

* The number of uncovenanted servants is very trifling.

† The establishment at Canton is of course excluded.

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instance—they were, until of late,* received into another college, provided with Oriental professors, whence, after further studies and a critical examination, they are permitted to enter any branch of the service they may chose to fix on, revenue, judicial, commercial, or political:† the duties of each branch are explained by the title. The principle of succession to office is regulated, partly by seniority and partly by merit, blended so well together as effectually to destroy favoritism or corrupt influence, while a succession of offices is still left open for the encouragement and reward of talent and integrity, the statute providing that all situations exceeding in total value £500 per annum, must be held by a civil servant of three years' residence in India; ditto exceeding £1,500 by a servant of six years' standing; of £3,000 a year, by one of nine years' residence; of £4,000 a year and upwards, by those of twelve years' sojourn in the East. It will be seen that whenever any vacancies occur, coming under the above classification in value, there are a number of candidates of the required local experience, according to the Act of Parliament‡ which pronounces their qualifications. The principle of selection then, it is true, devolves on the Governor-General§ or governor of the presidency. Here then the *merit* of the candidate enters into consideration along with his seniority, and every possible precaution has been taken by the Court of Directors, to secure for it the

* Lord William Bentinck abolished the college, partly, it is understood, for economical reasons, and partly because of the lax habits which it was said the young civilians got into by being congregated together at the presidencies: they are now sent up the country, and placed under the control of senior civil servants.

† The political or diplomatic branch of the service is open to the civil officers of all the presidencies.

‡ 33 Geo. III. c. 52, s. 57.

§ The Governor-General appoints to all the diplomatic situations throughout India.



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reward to which it is entitled. In the records sent home, the most minute description of the services, character, and conduct of every individual in the civil service is noted down, from the moment of his arrival in India,* through all the intermediate grades, to the time when it may be proposed to appoint him to a seat in the councils of government. Every appointment by the Governor General, or governors of Madras or Bombay is recorded; every reason for a departure from the precise rules laid down for nominations in India is placed upon the proceedings of government, sent home, and vigilantly scrutinized by the Court of Directors and Board of Control. And here let me ask those who talk so coolly, but so unreflectingly, of transferring the government of India to the crown, what sort or degree of power would the Governor General and governors of India wield without such checks, and who would attend to the latter? Should we not see, as we have done in the colonies, ruined gamesters, pandering court favourites, government defaulters, bankrupt merchants, or political prostitutes to any administration,† appointed to the most responsible situations—situations, perhaps, the incautious or incapable fulfilment of which would involve the peace of the whole eastern empire! A proceeding like this would be so characterized by insanity, that I will not dwell on it; for when the British public would consent to see the Ministers of the crown usurp such a monstrous degree of power, they would deserve to become the slaves to which they would speedily be reduced.

Before proceeding to detail the military establishments of the Company, I annex a comparative table from the

* The records of Haileybury shew, of course, his previous qualifications and character, &c.

† I could name many in our various colonies having these qualifications for office, and by virtue of which they were appointed.

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Parliamentary documents, shewing the charges of the three presidencies in the higher departments of the executive, legislative, and diplomatic administration, and the percentage of charge thereof on the gross revenue. The total civil charges of India (exclusive of debt) is £8,719,924 annually. Of the following table it will be perceived that the diplomatic agencies are the heaviest in expense, particularly those of Bengal; the salaries of the residents at foreign courts have, it is true, been curtailed, so far as regards the successors to the present incumbents; it is, however, a questionable policy which reduces the salary of an official in such a country as India, where there exists such powerful incitements to malversation or corruption. There is, indeed, no economy in paying the servants of a government in a niggardly manner; and if this principle be fully acknowledged and acted on in England,* where so much *eclat* attends on the filling of responsible situations, as to make even secretaryships be coveted by the nobles of the land, how much more necessary is it in Hindostan, where men are doomed to exile for life, and exposed to receiving temptations more difficult to resist than the moral ones to which Telemachus was subjected by Calypso. Until Lord Cornwallis placed the salaries of the civilians on a footing adequate to the trust reposed in them, the common saying among the natives was—"*Every European has his price!*" Would those short-sighted, ignorant mortals who declaim against the high salaries of the Indian civil servants,—would they, I ask, wish to see those days restored?

* Witness, for instance, the conduct of the Duke of Richmond and Lord Durham, who were *obliged* to accept the salaries attached to their respective departments, notwithstanding their private wealth.



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COMPARATIVE TABLE, showing the CHARGES of the THREE PRESIDENCIES in the Higher Department of the EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE and DIPLOMATIC ADMINISTRATION.

| GOVERNMENT. | OFFICES. | | | | | | | | | | | Area. | Population. | Gross Revenue. | Per Centage on Gross Revenue. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NUMBER. | | | | | | CHARGE INCLUDING EXPENSE OF ESTABLISHMENT. | | | | | | | | Charge of | |
| | Members of Council, including Governors and Commanders-in-Chief. | Boards: Revenue, Customs, Trade, Marine | Number of Members comprising the Boards. | Secretaryships. | Diplomatic Agencies. | Total No. of Members. | BOARDS. Council. | BOARDS. Revenue, Custom, Trade and Marine. | Secretary-ships. | Diploma-tic Agencies. | TOTAL. | | | | Boards and Secreta-ryships. | Diplo-matic Agencies. |
| | | | | | | | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | Sq. Miles. | | £. | | |
| Bengal | 4 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 29 | 47 | 62,315 | 101,453 | 87,785 | 170,593 | 442,146 | 306,012 | 69,710,071 | 13,825,280 | 1·821 | 1·233 |
| Madras | 4 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 40,725 | 30,079 | 39,462 | 30,853 | 141,119 | 141,923 | 13,508,535 | 5,415,587 | 2·036 | 0·569 |
| Bombay | 4 | — | — | 3 | 4 | 11 | 38,225 | — | 27,938 | 47,715 | 113,878 | 64,938 | 6,251,546 | 2,421,443 | 2·773 | 1·971 |
| Total.. | 12 | 6 | 14 | 14 | 37 | 77 | 141,265 | 131,532 | 155,185 | 249,161 | 677,143 | 512,873 | 89,470,152 | 21,662,310 | 1·995 | 1·15 |

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## The Military Force of India, European and Asiatic, its Expense, Projected Change, &c.

By the bravery of the Indian army Hindostan has become a fief of the British crown; by the fidelity of the same army it is now in a great measure retained in allegiance, or rather subjection, and under an unwise policy, that very army may sooner or later be the means of establishing a powerful empire in the East; an analysis of its component parts will therefore be desirable.

As the civil servants of the Company are principally formed from Haileybury, so their military officers are principally drawn from their military college at Addiscombe, near Croydon. This establishment, when full, consists of 150 cadets; who pay £65 the first year, and £50 the second, the extra £15 being for the purpose of supplying them with uniform and accoutrements. The young men are selected from the most respectable families of the three kingdoms, in the same manner as the civil servants; it frequently happening that one brother embarks in the one service, and the other in its opposite. They are educated in strict military discipline, as well as in the Oriental languages; are expected to be grounded in the classics, and be acquainted with at least one continental European modern language. The officers of the college consist of some of the oldest and most experienced of the Company's army; and the public examiner is Col. A. Dickson, of the Royal Artillery. This gentleman visits the college from time to time, to mark the progress of the cadets, and see when they are fit to be brought forward for an examination. There is no fixed period for their remaining at college, but if after two years any cadet does not evince talents which it is thought will further develope themselves in six months, his friends are recommended to withdraw him. The cadets

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get their appointments as soon as qualified; but by Act of Parliament they cannot proceed to India before they are sixteen years of age. Their appointments to different branches of the service are undeviatingly made in consequence of merit, and the examinations are conducted unconnected with the masters who have had the instruction of the cadets; if a lad is unable to stand the mathematical tests for the Artillery or Engineers, but evinces much general talent and diligence, then he is recommended for the Infantry. On leaving Addiscombe, the engineer cadets go to Chatham to finish their education in sapping and mining under Colonel Pasley. The grounds around Addiscombe are laid out with redoubts, guns, &c. for the purpose of practice; and the pains taken for the formation of good soldiers have been eminently the cause of success in the Indian artillery, &c. The following table shews the net expense of the college, and the number of cadets educated there.

NET EXPENSE attending the ESTABLISHMENT at ADDISCOMBE, for the EDUCATION of CADETS for the INDIAN ARMY, since its commencement; and the number of Cadets educated.

| Years. | Expenditure. | Years. | Expenditure. | No. of Cadets educated from 1808 to 1830-31. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | | £. | | |
| 1808-9 .. | 666 | 1820-21 .. | 10,751 | 55 | 113 |
| 1809-10 .. | 5,135 | 1821-22 .. | 19,294 | 67 | 97 |
| 1810-11 .. | 32,460 | 1822-23 .. | 15,350 | 74 | 111 |
| 1811-12 .. | 7,086 | 1823-24 .. | 14,653 | 65 | 91 |
| 1812-13 .. | 8,209 | 1824-25 .. | 14,161 | 71 | 100 |
| 1813-14 .. | 4,631 | 1825-26 .. | 24,362 | 68 | 106 |
| 1814-15 .. | 7,584 | 1826-27 .. | 26,826 | 56 | 142 |
| 1815-16 .. | 8,458 | 1827-28 .. | 22,619 | 54 | 134 |
| 1816-17 .. | 9,592 | 1828-29 .. | 21,252 | 62 | 120 |
| 1817-18 .. | 14,822 | 1829-30 .. | 14,570 | 57 | 127 |
| 1818-19 .. | 14,537 | 1830-31 .. | 16,075 | 83 | 136 |
| 1819-20 .. | 13,061 | | | | |
| | | Total for the period | 326,154 | 101 | 2,090 |

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The purchase of Addiscombe Place cost, in 1810, the sum of £17,251; the building and repairs, £82,869; the expense attending the instructing of cadets in trigonometrical survey, and the art of sapping and mining, has been during the period mentioned in the foregoing table, £37,136; books, stationery, and mathematical instruments, have amounted to £18,752; clothing, military stores, accoutrements, &c. £37,541; the rewards to cadets for industry and talent amounted in four years to £1,600; and the total expenditure upon the ordinary education of 2,090 cadets, has been £206,159: which on an average for each cadet is only £98, and for this sum a class of officers have been created, whose talents and capabilities are as honourable to themselves, as they are useful to their country. What is to be done with this noble establishment, in the rage for removing all power and patronage from the Company, we have yet to learn.

A few words may now be said as to the mode in which the Company's European troops are raised. The East-India Company possess the power to recruit a certain number of men annually, for the supply of the Indian army; in virtue of this authority, they have raised and sent abroad, during the last eleven years, seventeen thousand men, of whom eight hundred were despatched to St. Helena. Their depôt is at Chatham, under the command of a few staff officers, with detached recruiting parties in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, &c. Their service is considered a favourite one with the public, and the finest young men in the country annually engage for it. While at Chatham, they are divided into artillery and infantry, their equipments, clothing, &c. being similar to those of his Majesty's troops. The young men are drilled in the manual and platoon exercise, the twenty-eight field manœuvres, &c.; the most deserving are appointed non-commissioned

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officers, and when ready for embarkation in the Company's ships of the season, they are allowed to select the presidency to which they may desire to proceed. The total expense of the depôt including the rent of the King's barracks, is £3,361 per annum; in 1828 the expense of the depôt, including recruiting, bounty, &c., was £28,960.

The Indian army now comes under observation, it may be said to consist of three branches; the King's cavalry and infantry European regiments; the Honourable Company's European engineers, artillery, and infantry; and their native artillery, cavalry, infantry, &c. The following table exhibits the total number of British, European, military and medical officers, serving on the Peninsula of Hindostan in 1830, by the latest parliamentary return.—

NUMBER of EUROPEAN OFFICERS serving in INDIA, and the Corps and Presidency to which they respectively belong.

| Corps. | | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hon. Company's Engineers | | 44 | 30 | 21 |
| Artillery | European Horse | 45 | 21 | 20 |
| | Ditto Foot | 89 | 43 | 32 |
| | Native Horse | 12 | 22 | — |
| | Ditto Foot | 37 | 17 | 20 |
| Cavalry | His Majesty's Regiments | 54 | 23 | 26 |
| | Hon. Company's Regulars | 178 | 124 | 45 |
| | Ditto ...... Irregulars | 13 | — | — |
| Infantry | His Majesty's Regiments | 256 | 260 | 133 |
| | Hon. Company's Europ. do. | 33 | 30 | 31 |
| | Ditto ditto Native Regulars | 1,245 | 789 | 438 |
| | Ditto ditto Irregulars | 61 | — | 4 |
| Staff | | 169 | 132 | 82 |
| Medical Department | | 222 | 212 | 156 |
| Commissariat ditto | | 27 | 27 | 9 |
| Pioneers' corps | | 10 | 22 | — |
| Warrant officers of Artillery | | 103 | 89 | 75 |
| Total | | 2,598 | 1,841 | 1,092 |

The total number of European officers, it will be observed, is 5,531; of whom 752 are in the King's military service.

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A considerable number of officers are always on furlough; still, as will be subsequently shewn, the troops are under officered. Sir E. Paget maintains this opinion; in his recent evidence before Parliament he says, that there are not half the number of captains to a Company's regiment (5) that there are to a King's; but it is justly observed (by, I think, Captain Macan), that the number of officers to a regiment is of less importance to the army, than the efficiency and character of the officers, and the remuneration they receive, the fidelity of the sepoy to the British government being held through the tenure of his officer. If the latter, therefore, has not the means of living in a respectable style before his men, and is deprived, by the pressing urgency of his own wants, of making little presents to the soldiers of his company on festivals, &c, the consequences, to all who know any thing of the constitution of the Indian army, may be readily conceived.

The following table shews the number of European rank and file and non-commissioned officers in India, and the corps and presidency to which they belong.

Number of European Non-commissioned Officers, and Rank and File in India, and the Corps to which they belong.

| Corps. | | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hon. Company's Engineers | | 7 | — | 14 |
| Artillery | European Horse | 1,046 | 599 | 463 |
| | Ditto Foot | 2,053 | 1,227 | 1,092 |
| | Native Horse | 6 | 31 | — |
| | Ditto Foot | 8 | 3 | 2 |
| Cavalry | His Majesty's Regiments | 1,165 | 614 | 679 |
| | Hon. Company's ditto | 32 | 18 | 2 |
| Infantry | His Majesty's European | 6,937 | 6,824 | 3,321 |
| | Hon. Company's ditto | 1,124 | 1,052 | 919 |
| | Ditto Native Regulars | 146 | 106 | 15 |
| | Ditto ditto Irregulars | 33 | 2 | — |
| Staff | | 244 | 286 | 57 |
| Pioneers' Corps | | 11 | 2 | 5 |
| Invalids' ditto | | 277 | 376 | 66 |
| Total | | 13,089 | 11,140 | 6,635 |

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The total number of European troops (exclusive of commissioned officers) is 30,977, of whom 19,540 belong to his Majesty's cavalry and infantry regiments. These are an enormous charge to the Company, about £270,000 per annum in India, and £60,000 in England, for half-pay and pensions, together with the cost of conveying them backwards and forwards. It is, of course, but just that the Company should pay something towards defraying the military strength of the empire; but, as is correctly observed by the Right Honourable Robert Grant, "the practice has overgrown the principle." As far as the tranquillity of India is concerned, there is no necessity for King's troops, the Company could embody a larger European force; and if the native army became unfaithful to those whose salt they eat, the whole of the King's army would be insufficient for the preservation of India. Let us now observe the number of Native officers, Hindoo and Mussulman, in the Indian army.

NUMBER of NATIVE OFFICERS in the INDIAN ARMY.

| Corps. | | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Engineers | | 12 | — | 3 |
| Artillery | Horse | 6 | 13 | — |
| | Foot | 48 | 50 | 23 |
| | Irregulars | 12 | — | — |
| Cavalry | Regulars | 135 | 178 | 65 |
| | Irregulars | 137 | — | 10 |
| Infantry | Regulars | 1,200 | 990 | 440 |
| | Irregulars | 449 | 21 | 26 |
| Pioneer Corps | | 23 | 20 | 16 |
| Native Doctors | | 235 | 202 | 136 |
| Total | | 2,257 | 1,474 | 719 |

It will be seen that the native officers, are in greater proportion than the European officers, attached to the Sepoy cavalry and infantry. Their numbers stand thus:—

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| | Europeans. | Natives. |
|---|---|---|
| Cavalry .................. | 360 ...... | 525 |
| Infantry.................. | 2,537 ...... | 3,126 |
| Total.... | 2,897 | 3,651 |

The majority in favour of the latter is 754.* The total number of native officers is 4,542, of whom 573 are native doctors; these are carefully educated and instructed in the European principles of medicine, and in anatomy. Much of the efficiency of the Bengal military native doctors is owing to the care of the late Dr. Breton. The Company have sent out models in *papier maché*, and other improved methods of studying anatomy, for such Hindoos as object to touching the human skeleton; their prejudices in this respect are wearing away, and the native doctors of the Indian army are a real blessing conferred on the country at large. Manuals of medicine, surgery, &c are translated and printed at the Company's expense; and if nothing had been done for India but giving the people a simple system of medicine, the Government would have been entitled to their gratitude. The next table shews the force of the native army exclusive of native commissioned officers.

* When such laudable efforts are being made to elevate the Hindoos to civil situations of trust and emolument, the author would respectfully solicit the attention of the Honourable Company to the condition of their gallant military native officers; it would indeed be desirable that certain staff appointments were open to them; every general officer, for instance, should be allowed a native aid-de-camp, whose allowances should be in proportion to that of his European compeer; perhaps if the commissions of the native officers were countersigned by His Majesty, it would gratify them; those who have distinguished themselves should be admitted Companions of the Bath, and every possible means taken to elevate them in their own opinion, as well as in the eyes of the troops under their command.

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NUMBER of NATIVE Non-commissioned OFFICERS and RANK and FILE in INDIA, and the Corps to which they belong.

| Corps. | | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hon. Company's Engineers | | 806 | — | 147 |
| Artillery | European Horse | 267 | — | 99 |
| | Ditto Foot | 903 | 888 | 719 |
| | Native Horse | 320 | 571 | — |
| | Ditto Foot, Regulars | 2,010 | 854 | 629 |
| | Ditto ditto Irregulars | 285 | — | — |
| | Gun Lascars | 110 | 450 | 261 |
| | Ordnance Drivers | 510 | 673 | 34 |
| Cavalry | Regulars | 5,062 | 4,614 | 1,795 |
| | Irregulars | 3,654 | — | — |
| Infantry | Regulars | 55,825 | 39,839 | 23,349 |
| | Irregulars | 21,487 | 1,121 | 1,075 |
| Invalids | | 2,469 | 5,511 | 1,797 |
| Pioneer Corps | | 807 | 1,674 | 897 |
| Total | | 94,515 | 56,295 | 30,802 |

The total number of non-commissioned officers and rank and file of natives in the service of the Company amounts to 181,612; these are composed of Hindoos and Mahomedans, mixed in every regiment in a greater or less proportion, and in field discipline, cleanliness, and sobriety, they are unsurpassed by any other troops. The native artillery make it a point of honour to be cut down at their guns, rather than desert them; wherever a British officer will lead, it has rarely or never been found that his Sepoys will not follow. No men are more alive to emulation; a medal is as highly prized by a Sepoy as by a British soldier; and many instances of heroism might be related of them, which would do honor to Greek or Roman story. This is not the place, however, to speak of their achievements, of their faithfulness to their officers, or of their volunteering for Egypt, for Java, for the Mauritius, for Ceylon, or for Birmah; suffice it to say, that the history of the Indian

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army has yet to be written; it is time the desideratum were supplied. I now give the total force.

Total of King's and Company's Military Force at the Three Presidencies, for 1830.

| Corps. | Presidencies. Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. | Total Number of Troops. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Engineers ................ | 869 | 30 | 185 | 1,084 |
| Artillery .................. | 7,942 | 5,551 | 3,469 | 16,962 |
| Cavalry .................. | 10,446 | 5,571 | 3,522 | 19,539 |
| Infantry .................. | 88,832 | 51,034 | 29,751 | 169,617 |
| Invalids .................. | 2,746 | 5,887 | 1,863 | 10,496 |
| Grand Total ........ | 110,835 | 68,073 | 38,790 | 217,698 |

The Company's European Artillery, which, in efficiency, is quite equal to the Royal Artillery, was in number, at the date of the last returns, as follows:—

| | Horse. | | Foot. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengal.............. | No. 1,021 | ...... | 2,109 |
| Madras ................ | 596 | ...... | 1,459 |
| Bombay ................ | 435 | ...... | 1,025 |
| Total.... | No. 2,052 | | 4,593 |

The establishment of King's regiments is—

| | Cavalry. | | Infantry. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengal........................ | 2 | ...... | 8 |
| Madras........................ | 1 | ...... | 8 |
| Bombay ...................... | 1 | ...... | 4 |
| Total.... | 4 | | 20 |

The grand totals of the army employed in India are as follows:—

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GRAND TOTALS of the REGULAR and IRREGULAR INDIAN ARMY in 1830.

| Denomination. | Presidencies. Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. | Total Regular and Irregular Force. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Regular European force .... | 15,312 | 12,603 | 7,675 | 35,590 |
| Ditto Native ditto .... | 68,367 | 51,096 | 28,613 | 148,076 |
| Irregular European ditto .... | 384 | 378 | 70 | 832 |
| Ditto Native ditto .... | 28,520 | 7,031 | 3,878 | 69,429 |
| Total of all ........ | 112,583 | 71,108 | 40,236 | 253,927 |

In 1814 the total Indian army on a peace establishment* was—

| | Men. |
|---|---|
| Bengal .............................. | 84,106 |
| Madras .............................. | 77,274 |
| Bombay .............................. | 31,676 |
| Total.... | 193,056 |
| In 1815.............................. | 207,867 |
| 1825† .............................. | 296,538 |
| 1827.............................. | 275,786 |
| 1830.............................. | 223,927 |
| 1831.............................. | 194,000 |

It is now being further reduced, particularly the local or provincial corps, which it is thought may at any time be reorganized. The greater part of the irregular native troops are employed doing duty in the different cities as local militia, for escorts, and various harassing duties, on which it is not thought advisable to employ the regular troops. The annual charge of the different branches of the army of the three presidencies, to correspond with the foregoing returns, is as follows:—

* In 1813, the total army was 201,000.

† During 1825 and 1826, the Bengal army alone was 170,000 men, on account of the Burmese and Bhurtpoor war.

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ANNUAL CHARGE of the ARMY of the THREE PRESIDENCIES, in 1830.

| Corps. | | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £. | £. | £. | £. |
| Honourable Company's Engineers | | 23,968 | 24,022 | 35,883 | 83,873 |
| Artillery | European Horse | 88,058 | 50,788 | 60,295 | 199,141 |
| | Ditto Foot | 110,512 | 84,597 | 57,234 | 252,343 |
| | Native Horse | 27,987 | 46,252 | — | 74,239 |
| | Ditto Foot | 43,718 | 32,812 | 21,175 | 97,705 |
| | Golundauze | 3,035 | — | — | 3,035 |
| Cavalry | His Majesty's European Regiments | 81,832 | 40,803 | 49,953 | 172,588 |
| | Honourable Company's Native Regulars | 290,982 | 297,316 | 130,555 | 718,853 |
| | Ditto .. ditto .. Irregulars | 130,812 | — | 48,581 | 179,393 |
| Infantry | His Majesty's European Regiments | 240,899 | 267,159 | 120,554 | 628,612 |
| | Honourable Company's ditto | 33,018 | 42,356 | 47,026 | 122,400 |
| | Ditto .. Native Regulars | 1,433,366 | 1,146,000 | 522,989 | 3,102,355 |
| | Ditto .. ditto Irrregulars | 245,204 | 12,980 | 12,528 | 270,712 |
| Staff | | 174,794 | 168,501 | 145,195 | 488,490 |
| Medical Department | | 66,772 | 35,134 | 30,952 | 132,858 |
| Pioneer Corps | | 17,312 | 35,393 | 21,806 | 74,511 |
| Commissariat Department | | 382,499 | 207,346 | 24,482 | 614,327 |
| Military Charges not coming under the foregoing | | 933,769 | 724,816 | 520,302 | 2,178,887 |
| Grand Total | | 4,328,537 | 3,216,275 | 1,849,510 | 9,394,322 |

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The expense paid by the Company for the King's troops serving in India is about £800,000:* this is exclusive of £60,000 for half-pay and pensions provided according to Act of Parliament. The annual expense of a King's infantry regiment in India is £65,000; ditto of a cavalry ditto, £75,000. That of a Company's regiment of native infantry, £24,000; ditto of native cavalry, £40,000.

It is fit that these immense outlays by the Company should be mentioned, because it has been quite forgotten how much the Company contribute to support the expenses of the government at home.

The pensions to European non-commissioned officers† and men, were in number and amount as follows:—

| | No. of Men. | Pensions. |
|---|---|---|
| In 1814 | 856 | £14,651 |
| 1822 | 1,088 | 20,106 |
| 1828 | 1,707 | 29,627 |

The pensions to native non-commissioned officers and men were—

| | No. of Men. | Pensions. |
|---|---|---|
| In 1828 | 23,130 | £211,903 |

* In 1827-28, the pay and allowances of the King's troops amounted to S. Rupees 83,32,352. (Lords' Report, p. 260.)

Another parliamentary return gives the following statement:—A regiment of H.M.'s Light Dragoons, consisting of eight troops and 736 fighting officers and men, costs the Company per annum £73,788; the passage to India of a King's regiment is £5,000. A regiment of the Company's cavalry, consisting of six troops and 545 officers and men, costs per annum £35,784.

† Twenty-five years' service is requisite for European commanding officers to be enabled to retire on the full-pay of their rank. A lieutenant-colonel, major, or captain, retires on the half-pay of his rank, if his health requires his relinquishing the army; and a lieutenant having served thirteen, or an ensign nine years, may retire on ill-health certificates, on the half-pay of their rank. Lord Clive's Fund, principal and interest, are worn out, and the charges upon it are borne by the Company. At each presidency there is also a "Military Widows' Fund," supported by contributions from the Company, as well as by subscriptions from every officer. The funds profit by a high rate of interest on their balances, and an advantageous rate of exchange on their remittances, which amount on the whole to £47,091 a year.

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The total expense of the Indian army (exclusive of home payments)* was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1814 | £9,026,666 |
| 1815 | 9,200,000 |
| 1821 | 9,350,000 |
| 1822 | 9,000,000 |
| 1825 | 13,700,000 |
| 1827 | 12,200,000 |
| 1830 | 9,461,323 |

The reductions which are now being carried into effect, will still further reduce the expenses of the army.

Since 1814, the military stores sent out to India have cost the immense sum of £2,750,000. The military charges for St. Helena in 1830 were £60,000; ditto for Prince of Wales' Island, £18,000.

The following table exhibits at a complete view the civil and military administration of the three Indian presidencies and their dependencies, with the charges exclusive of debt. It will be observed that the revenues of Bombay are unequal to the charge for civil, military, and marine expenditure, by nearly £1,200,000, and Madras charges exceed by £200,000, the sum derived from the lands, customs, &c.; the Bengal revenue is therefore taxed for the civil and military support of the other presidencies. The total number of Europeans supported by the Company in their territories is nearly forty thousand.

* About £500,000 is paid, for instance, annually to officers of the Bengal army alone, who are at home on furlough, &c.



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**Statement of the Civil and Military Administration of the Three Presidencies of India, together with those of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca, and St. Helena.**

| GOVERNMENT. | Area. | Population. | Number of: Districts. | Number of: Civil and Uncovenanted Servants, European. | Number of: Military: European. | Number of: Military: Native. | Number of: Military: Marine. | Revenue. | Charges exclusive of debt: Civil. | Charges exclusive of debt: Military. | Charges exclusive of debt: Marine. | Charges exclusive of debt: TOTAL. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sq. Miles. | | | | | | | £ | £. | £. | £. | £. |
| Bengal ........ | 306,012 | 69,710,071 | 57 | 579 | 16,068 | 96,654 | 136 | 13,825,280 | 4,884,559 | 4,432,792 | 128,448 | 9,445,799 |
| Prince of Wales' Island, &c. .. | 1,317 | 107,054 | — | 13 | — | — | — | 32,897 | 123,233 | 18,800 | 11,165 | 153,198 |
| *Both* .......... | 307,329 | 69,817,125 | 57 | 592 | 16,068 | 96,654 | 136 | 13,858,177 | 5,007,792 | 4,451,592 | 139,613 | 9,598,997 |
| Madras ........ | 141,923½ | 13,508,535 | 21 | 261 | 12,832 | 57,531 | European 20; Native . 265 | 5,415,587 | 2,051,710 | 3,179,924 | 22,441 | 5,254,075 |
| Bombay ...... | 64,938¼ | 6,251,546 | 10 | 215 | 7,728 | 32,508 | European 542; Native . 618 | 2,421,443 | 1,660,422 | 1,714,095 | 199,324 | 3,573,841 |
| Total of India.. | 514,190¾ | 89,577,206 | 88 | 1,068 | 36,628 | 186,693 | 1,581 | 21,695,207 | *8,719,924 | 9,345,611 | 361,378 | 18,426,913 |
| St. Helena .... | 47¼ | 4,766 | — | 15 | 800 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 93,004 |
| Grand Total.... | 514,238 | 89,581,972 | 88 | 1,083 | 37,428 | 186,693 | 1,581 | 21,695,207 | *8,719,924 | 9,345,611 | 361,378 | 18,519,917 |

* These sums include stipends and pensions chargeable upon the Revenues.

The marine charges, alluded to in the foregoing table, for Bengal, are to defray the expenses of a pilot establishment at Calcutta, which for utility and skill has no superior. The pilot vessels are schooner-rigged, and adapted to the tempestuous weather which is so frequent off the Sand-heads, where six or eight are constantly stationed. There are several ranks of gradation in the establishment, which is one of seniority, and the officers are in general intelligent Europeans, well acquainted, from length of service, with the difficult and dangerous navigation of the Hooghly. For the protection of the commerce of the port no expense is spared by the Bengal government, in light-houses, floating light-ships, buoys, &c.; and a telegraphic communication has been lately established between Kedgeree and Calcutta. The port charges on vessels, notwithstanding this expensive but indispensable marine, are moderate.

At Madras, the maritime expense is of course trifling in comparison.

At Bombay there is a warlike marine kept up for the protection of British commerce, which consists of about— one frigate, four 18-gun ships, six 10-gun corvettes and brigs, two armed steamers, and surveying-ships, &c. The number of officers may be stated at—twelve captains, fourteen commanders, forty-six lieutenants, seventy-one junior officers, with a proportion of upwards of four warrant officers to each vessel, and about five hundred European seamen. The expenditure of the establishment is mixed up with that of the docks, port, &c. During the European wars the Indian navy on many occasions distinguished itself; indeed, wherever its services were required, its officers and men have shewn themselves not a whit inferior in naval discipline and bravery to his Majesty's service; while the extensive and valuable surveys of the gulphs, rivers, and



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bays in the Indian ocean and China seas, have been of the utmost benefit to the commerce of every nation trading to the East: but this, like many other important services of the India Company, seem in the present day to be regarded as matters of no moment.

I cannot conclude this chapter without adverting to two important subjects now under discussion, connected with the preceding details, which induced me to be minute in the statements given;—1st. The immense establishment of the Indian army;—2d. The transfer of that army to the crown.*

It may appear a despotic doctrine to contend, that an efficient standing army is as necessary for the maintenance and extension of civilization at home, as for the defence or punishment of aggression from abroad; it is however sup-

* Another debated question is the practicability of uniting the whole Indian army into one. There are more difficulties besetting such a measure than are apparent. The armies of the three presidencies are composed of totally different people. The Bengal army has men of caste so high that they would scarcely mix with the Bombay sepoy, who, unlike the former, is a creature of all work. Again, the people of Southern India in the Madras army are quite a different race from either of the foregoing. It is obvious, too, that the spirit of emulation between the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay armies has, in times of emergency, been of the utmost advantage to the service. Moreover, the equalization of the pay throughout the armies would be unjust, on account of the much greater expense at some cantonments than in others; and the changing of troops, marching them periodically across the vast peninsula of Asia, would be attended with great loss of life, immense expense, and considerable inconvenience to the troops as well as to the inhabitants.' The distribution of the presidency armies was in 1830 as follows:—

| | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cavalry ............ regts. | 10 | 8 | 3 |
| Infantry ................. | 76 | 54 | 28 |
| Provincials .............. | 37 | 9 | 5 |
| Artillery ............ batts. | 10 | 6 | 4 |
| Engineers ................ | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Total ...... | 136 | 79 | 42 |

The

ported by the weight of Adam Smith's authority, who contends that "it is only by means of a standing army that the civilization of any country can be perpetuated or even preserved for any considerable length of time." *

This is a remarkable passage in the writings of a man who has afforded texts for so many commentators, and for those who delight in stringing together axioms, instead of examining their truth or reference to the point at issue; I am therefore induced to give from my notes another passage from the works of this philosopher.

*Civilization promoted and perpetuated by means of a standing army.*—" As it is only by means of a well regulated standing army that a civilized country can be defended, so it is only by means of it that a barbarous country can be suddenly and tolerably civilized. A standing army establishes, with an irresistible force, the law of the sovereign through the remotest provinces of the empire, and maintains some degree of regular government in countries which could not otherwise admit of any. Whoever examines with attention the improvements which Peter the Great introduced into the Russian empire, will find they almost all resolve themselves into the establishment

The foregoing are thus officered in the higher ranks:—

| Rank. | Bengal. | Madras. | Bombay. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Lieut.-Generals | 5 | 11 | 2 |
| Major-Generals | 11 | 13 | 2 |
| Colonels | 5 | 8 | 2 |
| Total.... | 21 | 32 | 6 |
| In Europe | 13 | 27 | 6 |
| Total on service.... | 8 | 5 | 0 |

How far any change in the distribution of officers might be made, is another question.

* Book I. chap i. p. 68.

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of a well regulated standing army.* It is the instrument which executes and maintains all his other regula-

* At a moment when so much attention is turned to the Russian army, the following recent statistical detail, by M. Niellon Gilbert, will be acceptable to the reader. At the present period the Russian army is greater than the force here stated:—

*Russian Troops of the Line.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Infantry of the line | 220,000 |
| Grenadiers | 22,000 |
| Chasseurs à pied | 80,000 |
| Cuirassiers | 15,000 |
| Houlans | 12,000 |
| Dragoons | 12,000 |
| Hussars | 10,000 |
| Foot artillery | 8,000 |
| Horse artillery | 5,000 |
| Total.... | 384,000 |

To these are to be added, first, 12,000 men of every class from the military colonies, where they have been formed for service with the most rigorous discipline; and, next, the troops called garrison regiments, who are armed, equipped, and exercised in the same way as the troops of the line, with the exception of wearing a grey uniform, instead of the green which is common to the troops of the line, in which also it is of rather a superior quality. These garrison regiments are employed principally as militia are in other countries, and also for the protection of fortresses and the escort of prisoners; but they are liable to be called into service in the same way as the regular troops: their number is estimated at 60,000. The irregular cavalry, in which are included all the Cossacks, already trained to the warfare for which they are found to be so useful and enduring, are calculated at 50,000, that being the number which can be called out with ease, although it is supposed that a third more than that number might be brought forward without much difficulty. The total force of the Russian army, either in actual service or liable to be called out at a short notice, is—

| | |
|---|---|
| Troops of the line | 384,000 |
| Imperial guard | 90,000 |
| Colonized troops | 120,000 |
| Garrison regiments | 60,000 |
| Irregular cavalry | 50,000 |
| Polish army | 60,000 |
| Total.... | 764,000 |

At Tula in Russia, more than 700,000 stand of fire-arms and 25,000 side-arms are now annually made.

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tions. That degree of order and internal peace which that empire has ever since enjoyed, is altogether owing to the influence of that army."—(Wealth of Nations, Book v. p. 68.)

Do we not see the principles of Dr. Smith acted on in every part of Europe—nay even in the free country of England, (to leave Ireland out of the question)? It may therefore be fairly asked if troops, or whole regiments of cavalry and infantry, be necessary for the preservation of property and peace in Bristol, in Nottingham, in London, are they not so in such a country as India, where there is always floating on its surface about two million of soldiers, who have been compelled by our government to turn their swords into ploughshares, but who are ready at a moment's warning, on the slightest hope of pillage or plunder, or if provided with able and popular leaders, to take up arms?*

Independent therefore of the absolute necessity of retaining the Indian army, without any material reduction, as regards the maintenance of civilization, let attention be directed to the immense line of frontier which it is necessary to protect; surrounded by jealous neighbours, pretended friends,† or implacable foes. Moreover, forty mil-

* Every city of any extent in India, particularly in the Western provinces, could in a few hours assemble from 10 to 15,000 fighting men ready for combat; the insurrection at Bareilly is a case in point. It is well known that had the last attack on Bhurtpore failed, one million of men were ready to have disputed with the present government for the sovereignty of India! Sir Henry Strachy, says: "There is here, as elsewhere, a very numerous class of the lower orders, ready to serve under any standard where they can get subsistence. These have no idea of loyalty or disloyalty, except to the masters who support them; they would readily enlist with a foreign power." Even of the Sepoys Sir Henry thus speaks, "The Sepoys are entirely uninstructed as to the form of the government, of the policy of their rulers, and of the justice of their wars: it is in this ignorance and apathy that our strength consists."

† The key to India is the valley of Cashmere, now in the possession of that wily old fox, Runjeet, or Ranajit Singh; on his demise, which will soon occur, his territories and his armies, like those of Alexander,

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lion of inhabitants in Lower Bengal are essentially a non-militant race, and stand therefore in the light of a protected nation, while their wealth as well as feebleness, render them peculiarly obnoxious to the rapacious invasions of the Burmese, or the no less predatory attacks of their braver but poorer countrymen.* A little reflection will teach, that an army of 100,000 men in Bengal, for the protection of 40,000,000 human beings in a flat, swampy country, where there are no natural means of defence, is any thing but an extravagant military establishment.

Independent of these considerations it has been correctly observed, that although the East-India Company's troops have gained splendid victories, they have been as dust in the balance when contrasted with the mighty moral power which has preceded as well as attended on their conquests;

Alexander, will be divided among his favourites, for his son is incapable of wielding the power enjoyed by the parent. Intrigues are now going on to a great extent; and it is well to recollect that the possession of Cashmere afforded Mahmood an easy passage for the invasion of India at the head of 130,000 Tartars; and that the plan of Nadir Shah, to check the encroachments of Russia by a fleet in the Caspian sea, would not now be practicable on account of the dubious faith of Persia.

* Notwithstanding the peculiar situation of India, her army is actually less in proportion to her people than that of any civilized nation, except the United States of America, as the following table will shew:—

*Proportion of Army to Population.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Russia | one soldier to every | 57 | inhabitants. |
| Prussia | ditto | 80 | ditto. |
| Austria | ditto | 118 | ditto. |
| France | ditto | 138 | ditto. |
| Netherlands | ditto | 142 | ditto. |
| The United Kingdom | ditto | 320 | ditto. |
| The Anglo-Eastern Empire | ditto | 506 | ditto. |
| The United States | ditto | 1,977 | ditto. |

The proportion of Russia is large, but it must be remembered her population, exclusive of Poland, is fifty-five million! and that this population is divided into three classes; the first of which, supplies European troops; the second, in time of war, contributes an irregular force; and the last, or Asiatic tribes, do not afford any military contingent.

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when peace has succeeded to anarchy, safety to rapine, and prosperity to desolation.

Were it not foreign to my purpose, I might shew that the officers of the Indian army have distinguished themselves as highly in civil affairs, when employed therein, as they have crowned themselves with laurels whenever their country required their services; I might point to many such characters as Reid, Monro, Carnac, Walker, Malcolm, Bernival, Robertson, Briggs, Duff, Wilks, &c. and prove that the opinion of Sir E. Paget, who would not permit the officers in the Company's army to aspire to civil situations,* and who would have "no feelings uppermost with them, but their regimental ones,†" would be as unjust towards the service as it would be impolitic in the state; but I pass on to consider Sir E. Paget's expressions respecting the transfer of the Indian army to the crown.

The gallant officer would unite the Indian army to that of the crown, because the officers of the former have, "a *sort of spirit of independence among them*, which is by no means subsiding, but if possible becoming worse, and which would be remedied by the change proposed!"‡

Long may Britons, whether soldiers or not, cherish a noble 'spirit of independence;' may they, while mindful of their duty to their God, to their King, and to their country, ever remember what they owe to themselves; and the moment they cease to be, so far as is compatible with their

* If such a rule existed in the British army, would Sir E. Paget have held the civil government of Ceylon? Would many of our foreign ambassadors be military officers? governors of colonies? functionaries of government at home and abroad? It is true that the policy of the East-India Company has been not to appoint military men to civil situations, but it has been well for their territories that the exceptions to the rule have been numerous, and in no one instance, I believe, has there ever been cause to repent it.

† Evidence before the Commons, in May 1832.

‡ Evidence before Parliament, 8th May 1832.

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situations, free agents and responsible human beings, may they never enjoy the savage satisfaction of being tyrants over the many, in revenge for submitting to be the slaves of the few!

Let us examine more narrowly the doctrine and proposition of Sir E. Paget; the "sort of spirit of independence" referred to, is that shewn on the occasion of the half-batta order in 1828, in the memorials to the Bengal government and Court of Directors, praying for its rescinding, and pointing out the hardship and injustice of it, and which, I believe, the home authorities would now rescind if they saw any means of backing out of it with honour.

I will examine a few of the documents before me. The artillery at Dum-Dum state that they address themselves to "principles of necessity, humanity, and policy," and that they participate in the "feelings of dismay" which the half-batta order created;—the Cawnpore division of artillery express their "surprise and alarm;" the Sirhind division their "painful amazement;" the 1st Regiment, "the deepest feelings of regret and anxiety;" the 7th, their "alarm;" the 9th, their "deep despondency;" the 11th, "distress and dismay;" the 25th, the "utmost disappointment and regret;" the 27th, "deep and bitter mortification;" the 35th, their "gloomy prospects;" and the 54th, their "despair;" the Saugor division of the army, their "consternation;" and the Rajpootana field force, their "feelings of grief, distress, and general alarm." I am not going to enter into the merits of the half-batta question; I merely quote the foregoing expressions in reference to Sir E. Paget's statement; that they do not affect the discipline of the army, a perusal of the evidence before the Military Select Committee of Parliament, now sitting, would shew; for numerous general officers* have

* Dalbiac, Scott, Smith, Pritzler, Nicolls, Reynell, &c., thought the discipline of the native Indian army extraordinary.

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spoken in the highest commendatory terms of the Indian army. It is absolutely necessary, however, to consider if such a measure would be acceptable to the officers of his Majestys service, and in order to do so, let us observe how the two armies are officered.

| Designation. | No. of H. M. Regts. | No. of Comp.'s Regts. | How Officered. Rank. | H. M.* Service. | Hon. Comp.'s Service. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Regular Cavalry .... | 28 | 27 | Field Marshals | 6 | None. |
| Local Horse ........ | — | 12 | Generals. .... | 94 | None. |
| European and Native Infantry ........ | 109 | 158 | Lieut.-Gens... | 210 | 18 |
| | | | Major-Gens... | 204 | 26 |
| | | | Colonels .... | 189 | 15 |
| Provincial .......... | — | 39 | Lieut.-Cols. .. | 752 | 353 |
| Artillery .......... | 10 | 20 | Majors ...... | 864 | 206 |
| | | | Captains .... | 1,636 | 1,030 |
| Engineers .......... | 5 | 7 | Subalterns .. | 3,454 | 3,090 |
| Total .............. | 152 | 263 | Total ........ | 7,409 | 4,738 |

### His Majesty's Army.

The king's army averages 100,000 men, including those in the colonies, ordnance, staff, and all extra corps, to which is attached a complement of five thousand officers *below* field rank; and 2,329 officers *above* the rank of captain on the effective list.

In the king's army there are nearly 550 general officers (field marshals included), and only 137 regiments of horse and foot; there is, in fact, a sufficiency of commanding officers for nearly every regiment in Europe; the artillery, engineers, and marines, are

### Hon. Company's Army.

The Honourable Company's army amounts to about 200,000 men, not including the invalid or veteran corps, to which are only attached 4,120 officers *below* the rank of field officer, and but six hundred and eighteen *above* it!

In the Honourable Company's army there are no more generals or colonels than there are regiments; consequently there is no half pay list, no sinecures, and no pensions under twenty-five years service, while the general servitude of the army is thus shewn: five

* Retired officers not included in this list; these tables are derived from "Facts and Documents relative to the Indian Army," recently published in India.

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are like the Indian army gradation corps.

five lieut.-generals from fifty to fifty-eight years: eleven major-generals from forty-eight to fifty-two years: five colonels from forty-eight to fifty years: seventy-eight lieut.-colonels commanding regiments, from thirty to forty-nine years: ninety-nine ditto from twenty-five to forty-six years: ninety majors twenty-two to thirty-one years: four hundred and ninety-five captains from twenty to twenty-seven years: and nine hundred and ninety lieutenants from eight to twenty-one years!

Bearing the circumstances in mind, that the constitution of the two armies is totally distinct; that the one is a service of seniority, and the other of purchase and favour;* that the officers of the former require long local experience, an intimate acquaintance with the languages of the troops under their command, with their peculiar manners and

* The latest return which I have before me, demonstrates how much the king's army is a service of favour more than merit, or even wealth. Could such an unjust system be kept up on the amalgamation of 100,000 with 200,000 men?

*State of General Officers in the King's army.*—On the 1st of January 1829, there were field marshals, 6; generals, 92; lieutenant-generals, 212; and major-generals, 220. Total 531.

Of the field marshals, three are princes of the blood royal, one a foreign prince, one a duke and prime minister of England, and one an earl. All (six) are colonels of corps, and knights of the Bath; five have foreign orders of knighthood.

Of the generals, sixty-two are colonels of corps, twenty-seven are knights of the Bath, fifteen have foreign orders of knighthood, eighteen are peers, and six are members of Parliament.

Of the lieutenant-generals, fifty-eight are colonels of corps, forty-four are knights of the Bath, twenty-four have foreign orders of knighthood, thirteen are peers, and eleven members of Parliament.

Of the major-generals, nine are colonels of corps, thirty-eight are knights of the Bath, seventeen have foreign orders, eight are peers, and five members of Parliament.

*Summary.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Colonels of corps | 135 |
| Knights of the Bath | 115 |
| Knights of foreign orders | 61 |
| Peers | 44 |
| Members of Parliament | 22 |

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customs; while those of the latter, until they attain a field rank, have nothing to acquire but the usual drill of a regiment; how, it may be asked, referring to these important circumstances, are the two services to be amalgamated? Either the number of officers must be increased in the Company's army, or they must be reduced in the King's. Even as matters now stand, a Company's officer in India can scarcely, if ever, supersede a king's officer, while the latter may in a great variety of ways take precedence of the former. If the armies were blended, would it be right still to subject the honourable feelings of a Company's officer to the deep insult of seeing his junior in years, in talent, and in experience, placed over his head?* Would he, with that "sort of spirit of independence" which characterizes him, quietly acquiesce in such ungenerous and unjust treatment? Moreover, is it reflected that in the monstrous proposition to make the Indian army a "royal colonial army," the whole regulations of pay would have to be revised and increased† in India, unless the equally absurd doctrine, that an officer can live cheaper in India than at Ceylon, Mauritius, or Jamaica, be also advocated? Indeed, at present, the king's officer receives less pay

* By existing arrangements, the general staff and brigadier commands are held in too great a proportion by the king's officers in India, if the relative number and standing servitude of each be considered:—

| | | King's Officers. | E. I. Company's Officers. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengal | General Staff | 2 | 5 |
| | Brigadiers | 2 | 12 |
| Madras | General Staff | 2 | 3 |
| | Brigadiers | 3 | 9 |
| Bombay | General Staff | 1 | 2 |
| | Brigadiers | 2 | 5 |

† To shew the necessity of increase, I quote the monthly expenses of an officer in a favourite branch of the service,—and who, before he receives a farthing of pay, must disburse about 1,500 rupees for his outfit.

*Abstract*

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in Calcutta than he would be entitled to at any of the before-mentioned colonies! This will be apparent from the following statements:* The pay of a lieutenant of seven years' standing is chosen for comparison.

PAY and ALLOWANCES of the KING'S ARMY in INDIA and in the COLONIES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lieuts. Monthly Pay and Allowances .......... | Ceylon. Rs. 210·4 | Calcutta. Rs. 170·12 | Excess in Ceylon. Rs. 39·8 |
| Ditto .. Ditto...... | Mauritius. Rs. 207·4 | Calcutta. Rs. 170·12 | Excess in Mauritius. Rs. 38·8 |
| Ditto .. Ditto...... | Jamaica. Rs. 180·14 | Calcutta. Rs. 170·12 | Excess in Jamaica. Rs. 10·2 |

Thus we see that, notwithstanding the greater distance of India from England,† the more oppressive nature of the

*Abstract shewing the Aggregate Amount of the Monthly Expenditure of a Second Lieutenant of Artillery in Bengal.*

| | Head-Quarters. | Detached. |
|---|---|---|
| Regular Monthly Expenses, No. 1... | 195 13 11 | 195 13 11 |
| Average do. vide Estimate .. No. 2.* | 14 4 0 | 14 4 0 |
| Do. .. .. do. .. .. No. 3... | 35 6 0 | 35 6 0 |
| Do. .. .. do. .. .. No. 4... | 15 1 0 | 15 1 0 |
| Do. .. .. do. .. .. No. 5... | 3 8 7 | 3 8 7 |
| Do. .. .. do. .. .. No. 6... | 3 14 6 | 3 14 6 |
| Do. .. .. do. .. .. No 7... | 3 12 0 | 3 12 0 |
| Do. .. .. do. .. .. No. 8... | — | 64 12 10 |
| Do. .. .. do. .. .. No. 9... | — | — |
| Total Monthly Expenditure, Sa. Rs. | 271 12 0 | 336 8 10 |
| Monthly Receipts ........ Sa. Rs. | 204 1 10 | 204 1 10 |
| Average Expenditure above Receipts | 67 10 2 | 132 7 0 |

* The detailed estimates are given in the "Facts and Documents," published in Calcutta by Messrs. Samuel Smith and Co.

† Jamaica, for instance, being within six weeks' sail instead of six months, from England.

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climate, the terrible marches to which an Indian army are liable, and periodically called on, to perform,* and, above all, the numerous establishment of servants,† which the poorest subaltern is unavoidably necessitated to maintain, the pay of a lieutenant is actually, as well as proportionally, much less in India than in the colonies. The proposition of Sir E. Paget would, therefore, not merely render an equalization of rank necessary, but it would also include, at the very least, an equalization of pay. Nay more, it would affect the whole revenues of India, for it must be remembered that the Indian army is paid two months in arrear, while the king's troops in the colonies are paid in advance; so that independent of state policy the following measures would be required on an *endeavour*‡ to amalgamate the two armies, for surely it will not be contended that invidious distinctions, greater than those which now exist, it would be prudent to extend throughout both services:—

1. An equalization of rank, emoluments, and honours, between both armies.

2. An equalization of pay and allowances. §

3. A knowledge by all the British officers of the Indian languages, now acquired by the Company's officers.

4. That both services should be one of seniority or of purchase.

But it is unnecessary to particularize further, the egregious absurdity of such a proposition even on these grounds,

* A regiment from Calcutta, for instance, is frequently ordered to the most distant station of the presidency twelve hundred miles off; and marching in India is not marching on a turnpike-road in England.

† The very lowest establishment of the lowest commissioned officer in Bengal, consists of a kitmugar, head-bearer, dobie, syce, half a bheestie, and half a sweeper; to which must be added a horse and its keep, which no ensign even can dispense with.

‡ I use the word *endeavour*, because I believe the idea to be impracticable of effective adoption.

§ Requiring an immediate advance of £1,500,000.

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being apparent; let us, however, examine the question on the loftier views of policy, or expediency. Constituted as the Anglo-Eastern Empire is, the civil power must go with the sword;—whoever wields the latter commands the former;* this absolute rule, the merest tyro in Indian politics must be aware of; to transfer therefore, the Indian army to the king, leaving the civil power as it now stands, would be perfect mockery; so much so that I cannot believe the Court of Directors, or any other body of men, would accept the charge offered them. But it may be said "Oh, it shall be only a Royal Colonial Army." What!—are we to see a king's colonial force, amounting to upwards of 200,000 men, while the home established army is not half that amount? Are we to permit the disbursement of ten million sterling to be added to that of the British army and ordnance, amounting in 1832 to £9,029,454? Are the deeds of the royal colonial Spanish army forgotten? Is the conduct of the royal Portuguese colonial army unremembered? Is the dismemberment of Mexico from Spain—of Brazil, from Portugal—obliterated from the recollection of Englishmen? Have they not seen the bloodshed, and discord with which South America, has been desolated in mad attempts at reconquest? Have the United States' royal colonial army left no trace behind them of their proceedings?—Bunker's Hill or New Orleans? †—Do we not at this moment witness a contest between the rival branches of the House of Braganza, after they had agreed on the

* Look, for instance, at the Nizam, or any other of the subsidiary princes, the moment they surrendered the command of the troops, their power passed from them; the shadow, without the substance of sovereignty, alone remained.

† I might refer to Greece and Rome as highly illustrative of the dangerous effects of royal colonial armies to the liberties and integrity of a nation, but that they are familiar to every school boy. How Sir Edward Paget has drunk of the waters of Lethe on this subject I cannot divine.

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division of their Eastern and Western dominions? And is there no remote or even proximate possibility of such an event in this country? of a disputed succession? of a popular military favourite placing himself at the head of the "Royal Colonial Indian Army," and declaring his independence of Great Britain?

I might multiply my questions, and each time bring them nearer to present events and to approaching contingencies, until they would assume a startling reality, and place the enemies of England in possession of knowledge pregnant with danger to her Eastern empire;—but I forbear to draw further aside the curtain—I will not attempt displaying a prescience of futurity, for enough has been said to awaken every patriot Briton to a sense of the impending evils which inevitably await his country, by a transfer, in the most remote degree, of the Indian army to the Crown. As I have before said,* unless it be by reason of that incomprehensible fatality, which seems blindly to urge onwards kingdoms as well as individuals to their ruin, and which the ancients so well comprehended when they exclaimed—

"Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat"—

I cannot bring myself to believe that Englishmen will thus madly rush down a precipice which fearfully yawns before them. Should this magnificent empire, on which the solar orb never sets, crumble into atoms as did the realms of Babylon, Nineveh, Assyria, Egypt, Carthage, and Rome, and—

—— "like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind,"

the destruction thereof will be occasioned by the folly of its own people,—by the suicidal decrees of the senate,—

* In an anonymous work published some time ago.



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by flying in the face of Providence, which has wisely assigned a limit to all earthly things;* by, in fact, building up a moral Frankenstein, which will crush with its weight the being or people who impiously created it;—then indeed shall once proud and free England—

——"be bought
And sold, and be an appanage to those
Who shall despise her! She shall stoop to be
A province for an empire, petty town
In lieu of capital, with slaves for senates,
Beggars for nobles, panders for a people!"

* The dying language of one of the wisest of the Cæsars, was—"to keep the empire within its boundaries." His monition was disregarded; I refer to the immortal Gibbon for the results.

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## CHAPTER VI.

GREAT EXTENT AND FREEDOM OF THE INDIAN PRESS;—EDUCATION OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA COMPARED WITH THOSE OF EUROPE;—THE CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIA ADEQUATE TO ITS DUTIES;—MR. POYNDER'S MOTION FOR THREE INDIAN BISHOPS, AND HIS ASSERTIONS RESPECTING THE COMPANY'S PARTICIPATION IN IDOLATRY REPLIED TO.

MANIFOLD as have been the misrepresentations respecting the functionaries of the East-India Company, there have been none more glaring than that which denounced them as vehemently hostile to the spread of knowledge in India—as loving " darkness rather than light"—as, in fact, trying to smother the leviathan by which England and France are (and by which ultimately the whole world will be) governed—*the public press!*

It is a homely but no less true saying, that " the best proof of the pudding is to be found in the eating of it;" so the best proof of the truth of the foregoing assertion is by examining facts; and the first evidence I adduce is the following return laid before Parliament:—

PUBLIC ENGLISH and NATIVE JOURNALS or PERIODICALS in INDIA, at THREE PERIODS.

*Bengal.*—In 1814:

1. The Calcutta Government Gazette.

In 1820:

1. The Calcutta Government Gazette.
2. The Bengal Hurkaru.
3. The India Gazette.
4. The Calcutta Monthly Journal.
5. The Calcutta Journal.



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In 1830:

1. The Calcutta Government Gazette.
2. The Bengal Hurkaru.
3. The India Gazette.
4. The Calcutta Monthly Journal.
5. The John Bull.
6. The Asiatic Observer.
7. The Quarterly Oriental Review.
8. The British India Military Repository.
9. The Unitarian and Christian Miscellany.
10. The Trifler.
11. The Oriental Mercury.
12. The Calcutta Monthly Miscellany.
13 The Bengal Directory.
14. The Spy.
15. The Bengal Weekly Messenger.
16. The Weekly Gleaner.
17. The Scotsman in the East.
18. The Columbian Press.
19. The Bengal Chronicle.
20. The Oriental Observer.
21. The Indian Magazine.
22. The Literary Gazette.
23. The Calcutta Chronicle.
24. The Gospel Investigator.
25. The Commercial Chronicle.
26. The Bengal Herald.
27. The Calcutta Gazette.
28. The Kaleidoscope.
29. The Calcutta Register.
30. The Mirror of the Press.
31. The Annual Keepsake.
32. The Calcutta Magazine.
33. The Commercial Guide.

NATIVE NEWSPAPERS in CALCUTTA.

In 1814.—*Nil.*

In 1820.—*Nil.*

In 1830:

1. Sumachar Chundrika (Bengallee language).
2. Sungbad Kowmoody (ditto).
3. Jami Jhan Numa (Persian).
4. Shumsul Akbar (Bengallee).
5. Sumachar Durpun (half do. half English).
6. Sungbud Teemul Nausack (Bengallee).
7. Bungoo Doot (Bengallee, Persian, and Hindoostanee).
8. Oodunt Martund (Bengallee).

It is necessary to observe that the foregoing do not exhibit the whole of the Calcutta periodicals* established from

* The number of Madras and Bombay newspapers I have laid aside, as Calcutta is sufficiently illustrative of the case: their number is also on the increase, particularly at Bombay, where that intelligent and high-spirited people, the Parsees, are eagerly endeavouring to diffuse the light of knowledge throughout the East. The total number of English periodicals under the Madras head in 1830 is six, and under Bombay twelve, together with four Native journals, among which is a Guzerattee newspaper, one in Mahratta and English, and a daily Native paper. The newspaper English press is also being extended

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1814 to 1830. Many journals were established and sunk during the intervening years, particularly between 1820 and 1830; not from any oppression on the part of the Government (for that would increase and perpetuate them), but for want of circulation.

Since 1830 several other journals have been commenced; and as respects frequency of publication and circulation, Calcutta is second only in the British dominions to London, and superior to the whole of the British dominions besides.

Of the English press there are,—

| | |
|---|---|
| Five *daily* political newspapers. | Eight weekly newspapers. |
| Six ditto commercial papers. | Six monthly journals. |
| Two tri-weekly newspapers. | Two quarterlies, and |
| Three duo-weekly ditto. | Two annuals. |

The native weekly, or duo-weekly newspapers, were *ten* in number, according to the latest accounts!

Besides these are several other publications of which the names are not familiar to me. As an instance of the wish of the Government to impose no check on the press it may be mentioned, that no stamps were imposed on newspapers when the recent stamp law was enforced within the presidency, and even the postage on newspapers transmitted all over the Continent* was reduced one-half.†

extended to the interior of India, for in the present year a journal has been started at Meerut, entitled "The Meerut, Kurnaul, and Delhi Weekly Observer." A lithographic press has also been established at Cawnpore; and at other principal stations measures are in progress for disseminating knowledge.

* The Calcutta postage on each newspaper, if sent to any place within a certain limit (about 500 miles), is only two annas (1½*d.*), and from 500 to 1000 miles, four annas. Let it be remembered, also, that in India the post is carried by men.

† When a proprietor of a new journal in Bengal is desirous of circulating his first number as a specimen of his undertaking, the Government transmit it for him *gratuitously*, throughout every part of India; and an able scientific periodical, established, I believe, by Captain Herbert, is constantly transmitted free of postage all over Hindostan, that is, over 26 degrees of latitude, and 22 degrees of longitude!

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Those who complain so loudly of the Indian authorities on this score, should look at home and ask themselves what are the restrictions on the press in the free city of London? Numerous sureties, and penalty bonds of £500 each, before a single paper dare be printed; then a stamp-duty of fourpence on each paper; after that a tax on the very paper itself; and after that again, three shillings and sixpence on each advertisement! Two years imprisonment for libel;* and confinement in Horsemonger Gaol on bread and water, with an addition of gruel to ward off the cholera,† for presuming to sell an unstamped paper. In India no penalty bonds are required,‡ no sureties, no stamps, no excised paper, no advertisement duty; yet England boasts of "the glorious freedom of the press!" If the East-India Company had pursued a similar course in India, there would have been a pretty hue and cry throughout the land. There is certainly a power vested in the governments of India of sending out of the country any person whose actions tend to disturb the peace of the country, whether by means of writing in a newspaper or by any other method; but it is justly observed in a passage of the Bengal Regulations,

"That the rules impose no irksome restraint on the publication and discussion of any matters of general interest, relating to European or Indian affairs, provided they are conducted with the temper and

* Vide Carlile, Alexander, &c. † Vide *Times Journal*, July 26, 1832.

‡ The name and residence of the proprietor, &c. is required to be registered, and the following regulation to be complied with—"The editors of the newspapers or other periodical works in the English language are required to lodge one copy of every newspaper, regular or extra, and of every other periodical work published by them respectively, in the office of the chief secretary to the Government; and the editors of newspapers or other periodical works in the languages of the country, are in like manner required to lodge one copy of every newspaper or other periodical work published by them, in the office of the Persian secretary to the Government. For these copies they will receive payment at the usual rate paid by regular subscribers for such publications respectively."

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decorum which the government has a right to expect from those living under its protection; neither do they preclude individuals from offering, in a temperate and decorous manner, through the channel of the public newspapers or other periodical works, their own views and sentiments relative to matters affecting the interests of the community."

Lord Wm. Bentinck has even gone farther than his predecessors, as will be seen by the following notice which his Lordship caused to be published in the several journals of the presidency; it is a striking proof of the comprehensive liberality of a man whose whole career has been one of unvarying philanthropy:

"The Governor-General invites the communication of all suggestions tending to promote any branch of national industry,—to improve commercial intercourse by land and water,—to amend any defects in existing establishments,—to encourage the diffusion of education and useful knowledge, and to advance the general prosperity and happiness of the British empire in India. This invitation is addressed to all native gentlemen, landholders, merchants, and others; to all Europeans, both in and out of the service, including that useful and respectable body of men, the indigo planters, who from their uninterrupted residence in the Mofussil (interior), have peculiar opportunities of forming an opinion upon some of these subjects."

Mr. Buckingham's case requires no comment; the merits or demerits of it are well understood. And with regard to Mr. Fair, the Company's government was not the cause of his transmission from Bombay, but his Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature. There is a censorship at Madras, the effects of which will be best understood by a perusal of the opinions of one of those most interested, I mean the editors of the Madras journals, whose sentiments are subjoined.

*Freedom of the Press.*—"A great deal has been said and written on the subject of free press in India, and the government of Madras has been frequently censured for not granting to us the same privilege which has been accorded to our contemporaries at Calcutta and at

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Bombay. Upon a calm review of the question, we confess that in our opinion the liberty of the press at Madras would not be attended with the good expected from it, nor do we think that any serious injury would be occasioned by a removal of the censorship. Our brother editors of the *Government Gazette* and the *Courier* have too much good sense to admit into their columns the scurrility which now finds its way into the Calcutta papers, abusive of our present governor, and we are quite sure that any attempt to sully our paper with such articles would be scouted as it deserved. We believe that in the Calcutta papers those articles are admitted on the supposition that they are true, and that, in consequence of the censorship, there is no medium for giving vent to them at Madras. If the press were free, both sides of the question would be published. Persons in authority would not be assailed without being defended, and in all probability the true state of things would be understood. At present, some disappointed individuals gratify their angry feelings by penning strictures on Mr. Lushington; and the Bengal papers, anxious for local news, particularly when it is seasoned with personality towards men in authority, gladly publish them, without satisfying themselves of the truth or falsehood of the observations. As those articles are unanswered, because they are seldom or never seen by a Madrasite, they are of course taken to be true, and the subject of them is considered to be blacker than the devil himself. With a free press at Madras, this would be prevented. As far as we are ourselves concerned, we prefer the present system, as we are relieved from much responsibility by it. It has often occurred to us whether, if a libel was published in our paper, a prosecution might not be maintained against the censor; whether he is not the party responsible, and not the editor. This is rather an extraordinary state of things, and we should like to have our contemporaries' opinion on it—not that we have any intention of allowing any thing libellous to appear in our paper, but by possibility such an event might unintentionally occur."—*Madras Gazette*, 12th November 1831.

The Indian authorities, while appreciating the blessings of a well regulated press (as is seen by the number of journals in Calcutta, all of a liberal political tone), have discriminated between the use and abuse of so powerful a lever for the support or overthrow of a government, in effecting the latter of which, 15,000,000 Mahomedans, at the very least, are ready to join; and they have also justly estimated the limited degree of public opinion

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that exists in India,* agreeing with the saying of Dr. Watts: "If your wine be never so good, and you are never so liberal in bestowing it on your neighbour, yet if his bottle, in which you attempt to pour it with freedom, have a narrow mouth, you will sooner overset the bottle than fill it with wine."

The number of printing offices in Calcutta is considerable, but they are difficult to enumerate, a great many of them being managed entirely by natives. The fine establishment of Mr. Samuel Smith is a noble specimen of how much may be accomplished by the spirit and talent of a single individual: this gentleman's subscription library and reading rooms are more spacious, and enriched with a more numerous and valuable collection of books, &c. than any circulating library in this splendid metropolis; indeed, I may venture to say that it is superior to Ebers's and Saunders' and Ottley's combined. The library, also, of Messrs. Thacker and Co. is only inferior to Mr. Smith's in size, the collection of books being exceedingly valuable. Mr. Smith can bear testimony to the desire of the Government to offer every encouragement for the prosecution of his laudable efforts; and the large fortune acquired by Mr. Smith by his political newspaper, the "Bengal Hurkaru," is a gratifying evidence of the freedom and prosperity of the Indian press when conducted with discretion.

In the native as well as in the English journals, a free discussion of the measures of Government takes place, and the improvements suggested by the press, or the complaints made through its columns, receive the ready attention of the Bengal Government, which seeks or wishes for no disguise. If no foolish effort be made to obtain pre-

* Look at the want of power in the German press for the last twenty years, until very recently, when it has begun to stimulate a few of the least apathetic.

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mature circulation for any speculative journal, the press of India will be as useful to the rulers as the ruled, and if kept free from licentiousness, and private malice or scandal, it will indeed be a boon and blessing to the natives of the Eastern hemisphere,* into every part of which, from Persia to China, it is now slowly but surely finding a footing, and paving the way for the final dissolution of uncontrolled despotisms.†

Let us now turn to the important subject of education; and although the proofs of its progress may not be so easy of demonstration as that of the public press, yet it would be unnatural to suppose that such distinguished Indian literati as Verelst, Vansittart, Hastings, Orme, Halhed, Gladwin, Wilkins, Law, Paterson, Jones, Harington, Wilford, Hunter, Colebrooke, Leyden, Scott, Baillie, Ross, Ellis, Franklin, Erskine, Roebuck, Lumsden, Gil-

* Lithography, so admirably suited for the Oriental characters, has come to the aid of its elder sister, Typography.

† The avidity with which the natives seize on a religious topic for controversial discussion in their newspapers is very great; but they have now got Paine's Age of Reason to add fresh fires to their disputes: I trust it may not be productive of more evil than good. The following extract from the Sumachar Durpun, a half English, half Bengallee newspaper, established by the missionaries at Serampore, announces thus the circumstance:

*Circulation of the Works of Paine.*—" We understand that some time since a large number of the works of Tom Paine, not far short of one hundred, was sent for sale to Calcutta from America, and that one of the native booksellers, despairing of a sale, fixed the price of each copy at a rupee; a few were sold at this price, which falling into the hands of some young men educated in English, the anxiety to purchase the work became great. The vender immediately raised the price to five rupees a copy, but even at that price we hear that his whole stock was sold among the natives in a few days. Some one soon after took the trouble to translate some part of Paine's Age of Reason into Bengallee, and to publish it in the *Prubhakur*, calling upon the missionaries, and upon one venerable character by name, to reply to it. We at the same time received several letters from some of the most respectable natives in Calcutta, subscribers of the *Durpun*, but staunch Hindoos, entreating us not to notice the challenge, or to make the pages of this journal the area for theological disputations."—*Sumachar Durpun*, January 1832.

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christ, Malcolm, Marsden, Elphinstone, Babington, Carey, Vans Kennedy, Parker, Macnaghten, Marshman, Wilson, Herbert, Prinsep, Tod, Mackintosh, and a host of others whom it would be tedious to mention, would not make every possible exertion for the diffusion of that knowledge of which they were, and many still are, the richest possessors. It was stipulated at the last renewal of the charter, that £10,000 should be annually devoted from the surplus territorial revenue of India to the purpose of education; by the following extract from a parliamentary return in 1832 (No. 7), it will be seen that the Company have doubled, and in some years trebled the amount laid down in the Act, although there was no surplus revenue in India.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1824 | £21,884 | 1828 | £35,841 |
| 1825 | 66,563 | 1829 | 38,076 |
| 1826 | 27,412 | 1830 | 44,330 |
| 1827 | 45,313 | | |

As an instance of the efforts making for the diffusion of intelligence throughout the British dominions, I may quote the testimony before Parliament of the Hon. Holt Mackenzie, who states that since the renewal of the last charter, the Bengal Government have established a college at Calcutta for the Hindoos, and reformed very much the old Moslem College; that colleges have been established at Delhi and Agra, for both Hindoos and Moslems; the Hindoo college at Benares has been reformed; at the several institutions it has been the object of Government to extend the study of the English language, and good books have been supplied, &c.; that seminaries have been established in different parts of the country, and schools established by individuals have been aided by Government. With respect to Bombay, Major-General Sir Lionel Smith,

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a veteran and distinguished king's officer, observes in his evidence before Parliament (6th Oct. 1831), "Education is in such extensive progress, that I hardly think it could be more extended—education is also going on in the Deckan; the encouragement given by Government consists in a very liberal establishment, under the direction of an officer of very great attainments in the native languages, Capt. Jarvis."*

For the army, also, the Company have established schools, and libraries have been sent out to India for the use of the troops; and it is in frequent evidence before Parliament, that great pains are taken with the native regimental seminaries. I might quote similar testimony with respect to Madras, but perhaps the best proof that I could adduce is the statement made by that indefatigable friend of India, Sir Alexander Johnston, in his late able Report laid before the Royal Asiatic Society,† namely, that in Madras, "the proportion of inhabitants who have been taught reading, writing, and the rudiments of arithmetic, in their own language, amount to *one in five!*"‡

Now if we take the Madras population to be no better educated than those of Calcutta or Bombay, we shall actually have a higher rate of education in India than in any other country on earth.

* This gentleman, I believe, deserves the credit of having lately caused the introduction of the lithographic art into Persia, which will ultimately effect a revolution in that fertile and beautiful, but neglected country.—R. M. M.

† Vide *Asiatic Journal* for July.

‡ Sir Alexander also states, that the Board of Education at Madras have recently circulated an almanack, on similar principles to the British almanack published here, among the native population of the Madras presidency, at the trifling expense of £48; and he states, also, that the late Colonel Mackenzie received from the East-India Company £10,000 for his collections on the history of the Hindoos of the Southern Peninsula!

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EDUCATION in proportion to POPULATION.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In India | 1 scholar to every | 5 | inhabitants. |
| England | 1 | do. | 15 | do. |
| France | 1 | do. | 17 | do. |
| United States | 1 | do. | 11 | do. |
| Austria | 1 | do. | 15 | do. |
| Prussia | 1 | do. | 7 | do. |
| The Netherlands | 1 | do. | 9 | do. |

Let us hear no more about the schoolmaster being "cribbed, cabined, and confined" in the East-India Company's territories; he is more abroad there, though less noisy in his works, than the Kildare Street Society in Ireland, and producing more rapidly beneficial effects than even the laudable Irish Education Bill, now before Parliament, will for a long period effect.*

A few words may be useful respecting the established church in India, which Mr. Lushington states before Parliament, on his knowledge as secretary in the ecclesiastical department, to be "adequate to its purposes." A statistical return for 1827 gives the number of chaplains, stations, and charges, as follows:

| Presidency. | Stations. | Chaplains. | Charge. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengal | 18 | 27 | £40,625 |
| Madras | 18 | 22 | 20,199 |
| Bombay | 2 | 2 | 6,119 |

* In our desire to extend a knowledge of the English language, we must do nothing arbitrarily or hastily; if the former, our enemies will immediately tell the Hindoos we wish to overturn every thing, and render them in reality a conquered and degraded race; if the latter system be pursued, the European Government functionaries would become careless of acquiring the Eastern languages; an imperfect communication between the governed and the governing would succeed, and a material bond of union now existing be broken. The Persian, which is in such general use in official documents, is a graceful and at the same time a comprehensive language, easily written, and from its flowery style well suited to the manners of Orientals; from its having been so long the language of the Mahomedan conquerors, it is more generally understood all over India than any other tongue or dialect.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1817 there were | ...................... | 39 chaplains. |
| 1827 | ............................... | 51 do. |
| 1831* | ............................... | 76 do. |

The church is under the charge of a diocesan with £5,000 a year, and three archdeacons with £2,000 a year each; but great efforts have been recently made to appoint an archbishop for India, with two suffragan bishops.

It would be a strange anomaly to increase the episcopal establishment in India, at a moment when the Roman Catholics in Ireland and the Dissenters in England are protesting against being called on to support a church establishment whose services they do not require. Would Mr. Poynder and the Church Missionary Society, or the Christian Knowledge Society, defray the expense attendant on the nomination of more bishops in India? If not, their philanthropy does not keep pace with their religious zeal, when they would require the Hindoo population to pay yet more than they now do for Protestant Church dignitaries: moreover, can Christianity be alone promoted by means of bishops? Look at the discipline of the Scotch Church, a pattern in itself for every Christian persuasion; look at the numerous establishments of the dissenters, where are their bishops and archbishops? Mr. Poynder would have a church militant something like the king's army, with nearly as many officers as privates, or at least a far greater proportion of field marshals and generals than of subalterns.

Mr. Poynder, however, in his motion before the Court of Proprietors, has betrayed his motives; he says, "My great object is to get the bishops appointed, let the income be an after consideration!"† Fortunately for the

* Bengal 38; Madras 23; Bombay 15.

† Mr. Poynder alleges, that the bishops of India died from excessive work; now, it is evident that Bishop Middleton died after eight

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people of India, the Court of Directors think the income ought to be a prior consideration, unless Mr. Poynder will provide bishops who will work without hire.* The whole business smacks of dirty pounds, shillings, and pence feeling.

Mr. Poynder appears to me to be an amiable but mistaken enthusiast, who is made the cat's paw of, to drag the nuts out of the fire, by the monkeys who stand by to share in the spoil.† Who is it that asks for an increase of the established church in India? Is it the members thereof resident in Bengal, Madras and Bombay?—No! Is it the Presbyterians, Wesleyans, &c.? No! Is it the Roman Catholic or Syriac christians?—No! Is it the Hindoos and Mussulmans, from the sweat of whose brows the "income" is to be derived?—No! But it is, as Mr. Hume justly observed, "the members of the Christian Knowledge Society, &c., who would gladly add to the number and importance of the clergy (of which so many of its members consisted). But the addition to the establishment was not called for by the House of Commons, or by the Company; it was not desired by any of our European population; it was unnecessary, and it would at the same time be a most injudicious course, that we should increase our church establishment, at the very time when we were declaring to the world that the state of our finances ren-

eight years' residence in India by imprudent exposure to the sun; and that Bishop Heber perished of apoplexy, the attack being superinduced by plunging when heated into a cold bath. Bishop James told me himself, when I saw him a short time after his arrival, that he landed in India with a severe dysentery on him; and Bishop Turner laboured, I believe, under an incurable malady previous to leaving England; yet, says Mr. Poynder, the bishops died from being overworked!—R. M. M.

* Vide Mr. Poynder's speech, *Asiatic Journal Register*, p. 60, for January 1832.

† The additional sum Mr. Poynder wants for the bishops is £10,000 a year; that, however, is not a quarter of the sum which the fulfilment of his motion would cost.

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dered it necessary that we should reduce the allowances to our army."*

So able and conclusive is the speech of Mr. Hume on this occasion, that I am tempted to give the greater part of it, the more so because I understand Mr. Poynder and his friends have not abandoned hopes of carrying their point.

Mr. Hume said that he had always regretted the erecting of a church establishment in India, and should regret it with still greater reason if the principle of it should be carried to the extent sought by the honourable proprietor's motion. That motion he considered much fitter for a meeting of a missionary society, or any other association whose object was to make proselytes, than for a meeting of the Company of Merchants trading to the East-Indies. If there was one part of the policy of the Company which had his most unqualified approbation, it was that principle on which it had acted, and seemed disposed still to act, of not interfering with the religion of the natives of the territory in its possession. (*Hear, hear!*) Whatever we might think of the state in which these people were, he was glad to know that there was no governor of India who would venture to use his authority so as in any way to interfere with their religion, for such interference would not, for an instant, be tolerated at home. The notion of any attempt at proselytism was one which he rejoiced to think was not likely to obtain many supporters in the members of that court, at either side of the bar, at any time, but the more particularly at the present, when we were on the eve of the renewal of the Company's charter. The establishment of societies having that object would be considered the most impolitic and most detrimental to the Company's interests in India; but it would be also injurious to the natives themselves, as it would inevitably tend to protract, if not wholly defeat, the object which it had in view. The conversion of the natives to our faith, if it ever was to take place, must be the result, not of coercion of any kind, but their own gradual and spontaneous act, founded upon a comparison of their opinions with ours, and that arising from an improved system of education. As to the object of the honourable proprietor, as far as that was to obtain increased moral and religious instruction, no man was a more sincere friend to moral and religious instruction than he was, and no man had done more to promote such instruction in his own humble sphere

* Vide *Asiatic Journal Register*, for January 1832, p. 62.

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than he had. But he thought it perfectly possible that means for promoting both might be adopted in our Indian possessions, without increasing our church establishment there in the way pointed out by the honourable and learned proprietor. He did not see why a greater establishment of bishops, or indeed any bishop at all, was necessary to the promotion of moral and religious education in India. An extension of our church establishment in India was not necessary for the spiritual wants of our own population, it was not required by the natives, and at the present time it would tend only to alarm their prejudices and jealousies. For the spiritual instruction of the small christian population in India, he certainly thought that one bishop and three archdeacons were abundantly sufficient.

The opinion of Sir Charles Forbes on the subject is also deserving of the utmost attention; not less on account of his strong religious principles, than from his intense anxiety to benefit the natives of India by every possible means;—indeed, I believe that thoughts for promoting or ameliorating their condition occupy the greater part of the honourable Baronet's waking moments:—

Sir C. Forbes objected to the motion on very different grounds from Mr. Hume. It appeared to him, that the adoption of a proposition for increasing our church establishment in India, coming immediately after the measures taken by the Governor-general for putting a stop to suttees, would be an act of most injudicious policy, as it would very naturally tend to create in the minds of the natives the apprehension that it was intended to interfere by force with their religion.

Mr. Poynder and his well-meaning associates would do well to recollect, in their proselytizing zeal, that the religion of the Hindoos, as well as that of the Mahomedans, is essentially Unitarianism. The Almighty is worshipped under the definitions of the "infinite, eternal, incomprehensible, self-existent being; who sees every thing, but is never seen; he who is not to be compassed by description, who is beyond the limits of human conception; he from whom the universal world proceeds; who is the lord of the universe, and whose work is the universe; he who is the light



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of all lights; whose name is too sacred to be pronounced, and whose power is too infinite to be imagined; the *one*, unknown, true being, the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer of the universe."*

It is true, that the original religion of the Hindoos has been corrupted, and with the majority it is an extravagant polytheism, replete with mythological allusion to every circumstance or ceremonial of life however minute. But has Mr. Poynder ever heard of *one* Hindoo becoming a genuine convert to christianity? Neither Mr. P. nor any other person has ever heard of an instance;—the reason is obvious,—a Hindoo is desired to reject the worship of one million or so of deities, but he is at the same time called on to adopt the incomprehensible idea of the Trinity;—his reason is appealed to for the rejection of idolatry, but its exercise is denied him on the assumption of his new creed, which he is told must be adopted by means of "faith" alone, and that reason must slumber while the doctrines of revelation are being unfolded to him.

The result of such absurd attempts at conversion is easily foreseen; the Hindoo becomes either a confirmed deist, or an arch hypocrite, detested by the sect which he has forsaken, distrusted by the community whose opinions he has pretended to adopt.† Besides, unless education and moral precepts have been extensively and firmly inculcated in the individual previous to his renunciation of the system on which he built his hopes of futurity, as well as regulated

* Vide Coleman's Mythology of the Hindoos, a splendid work, which Mr. Poynder would do well immediately to order from the publishers, as it would in some degree moderate his conduct.

† For the truth of this picture I would appeal to Rajah Rammohun Roy, now in England, who, if he told Mr. Poynder that "had it not been for some christians sent to India, christianity would have made more rapid progress," must have wandered far from his previous opinions, as well as conferred a very slight honour on all other Anglo-Indian christians.

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his present actions, the prop on which he leaned being pulled away, without the substitution of an enlightened morality, he becomes a dangerous member of society, the gratification of his passions or momentary enjoyment being his ruling principle; hence the Company's government have been exceedingly careful how such persons have been permitted to hold official situations, for were the inducement held out, that professing Hindoo christians were eligible or preferable on account of their creed for appointments, there would indeed be many candidates; and the Indian government would adopt a means of proselytism more efficacious, but more dangerous to its stability, than any that could be devised by the whole of the missionary societies in the world.

These remarks are not made with a view to depreciate the character or conduct of missionaries, so long as they confine themselves to the extension of education, the inculcation of morality, or the diffusing a knowledge of the useful arts of life; their beneficial influence in these particulars have been witnessed by me in various parts of the globe, in the kraal of the Hottentot, and in the wigwam of the Indian savage; among the New Hollanders, the Malagashes, the New Zealanders, the Cingalese, and the Kaffres, as well as at the noble College of Serampore;* but it is a wild, visionary attempt at forcing christianity, which I so

* Drs. Carey and Marshman have gone the true way to work; they have not only established schools in every direction, but they have set up a steam engine for the manufacture of paper; a foundry for casting type, whether in Oriental or European characters; and to this they have added a newspaper, half English and half Bengallee, which they publish twice a week, totally divested of all sectarian or methodistical cant. Similar efforts have been made in Ceylon, by Mr. Fox and other amiable and talented men, and by Mr. Jones in Madagascar. The conduct of Dr. Phillips and the unfortunate Thretfall in Africa well deserves commendation; also Mr. Threlkeld in New Holland; Mr. Marsden and others in New Zealand, who have periled every earthly thing for the sake of their dark brethren.



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much deprecate, and which Mr. Poynder so mischievously advocates. The most remarkable circumstance connected with the christian religion is, that it has spread its influence in spite of the sword and of persecution, by the mere virtue of its precepts; and if the adoption of its doctrines be indispensable for the future salvation of man, Mr. Poynder may rest assured that his efforts to promote their circulation, or the East-India Company's endeavours (if it were so) to retard them, would be equally futile, unless the divine will were favourable to their dissemination. But the learned gentleman must not think that virtue cannot exist independent of christianity: there are thousands—aye millions, in Hindostan, of Hindoos, Parsees, Mahomedans, Budhists, &c. whose principles are as pure, and their standard of moral rectitude as high as that of any individual in Great Britain, but who nevertheless firmly believe in the religion which has been instilled into them in youth. How far locality of birth may have been the primary cause of Mr. Poynder being educated as a christian, and a native of Bombay as a Parsee, or an inhabitant of Calcutta as a Hindoo, it is not for me to decide; I merely allude to the circumstance, in order that Mr. Poynder may be induced to moderate a zeal which, if proceeded in, will retard instead of accelerating the object aimed at. A great and unjust outcry has been raised in England, on account of the Company's government levying a tax on the pilgrims resorting to several celebrated Hindoo temples, particularly at Juggernath in Cuttack; but it is not stated that the Company's government reluctantly undertook the management of these temples, at the instigation of the Board of Control; that the object was to prevent the extensive impositions and frauds which were practised on the unfortunate misguided devotees, whose lives were thus protected and comforts attended to, as beings who were in

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fact, from their ultra-religious zeal, incapable of attending to worldly affairs. This system was adopted at an early period of our rule—at a period when in England the crime of purchasing and selling human beings was considered no offence against the laws of God or man; but now, after the establishment of an efficient police, the making of roads, building of bungalows, &c. and the prevention of a host of crimes and religious murders, as well as checking in a material degree the bigotry of the votaries of such degrading superstition, the Company are called on to renounce all control over the temples, and allow them to become again scenes of riot, confusion, plunder, and bloodshed, which would require and demand the strong arm of the law for the suppression thereof, as much as the system of infanticide or suttees.

But, says Mr. Poynder, the Company realize a revenue from the pilgrims at Juggernath and Gya; the learned gentleman should have added, as a set-off; for "under the Madras presidency, the payments on account of mosques and temples *far exceed* the revenues derived from pilgrims."*

It is not a little remarkable as illustrative of the spirit of party, that while so much odium has been attempted to be cast on the Company's government for their conduct, in keeping those pilgrimage resorts within the bounds of decorum, that no remark has been made on the conduct of the King's government in Ceylon, which, as the talented editor of the Asiatic Journal observes, "has been from the first in actual contact and co-operation with the temple affairs without exciting any observation." I have personally witnessed the devil worship in Ceylon—at Kandy, and other places in the interior, as well as along the coast from

* Evidence of Mr. Stark, head of the revenue department in the Board of Control.

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Colombo to Matura, and I candidly declare I saw nothing equally hideous in the Hindoo superstitions, if I except those voluntary martyrs who delight in being swung in the air by a hook passed through the muscles of the loins; or who have a *gusto* for thrusting a large iron through the thickest part of the tongue or lips!

It is rightly observed by the before-named editor, that the "King's government of Ceylon stands forth as high priest of superstition; enforces attendance upon temple ceremonies, to the manifest inconvenience of the poor people,* who are under the necessity of making long journeys for that purpose; sanctions an absurd and superfluous mummery by the presence of the representative of the King of England, and expects people of all classes to attend from the remotest provinces, and pay a 'considerable sum,' which is placed in the custody of British commissioners: and all this, which must be notorious to the missionaries on the island,† has not provoked a single animadversion!"‡ In truth, Mr. Poynder must have a poor idea of the clergy and bishops of India, when he takes upon himself their functions, respecting the disgrace which it is alleged a Christian government suffers by reason of the conduct of the Company. Bishop Heber, in his writings, has never I believe once touched on the subject; and we hear nothing of it in the life of the orthodox Middleton; and with respect to Bishop James, I speak from a personal knowledge, that he judiciously saw the Company were necessitated on state policy, as well as on the grounds of humanity, to persevere in their course. All the authors

* These remarks are made by the editor, after quoting an extract from the report of the King's commissioners, on which they are founded.

† Mr. Callaway and other Ceylon missionaries, as well as the late Rev. Mr. Ireland, were well aware of these circumstances.

‡ *Asiatic Journal* for July.

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or persons who have visited Juggernath, agree that the flux of pilgrims resorting to this celebrated shrine (the mere ground around which, for twenty miles, is considered holy) is yearly diminishing, and if no injudicious measures be adopted, will in a brief period be exceedingly, if not entirely, diminished.* Mr. Poynder says, "I think that the tax levied induces resort;" if he could prove this by analogy, it would be well for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the present perplexing state of his budget; but, unfortunately for Mr. Poynder's theory, Lord Althorp finds that taxation diminishes consumption, and that the less the duty regularly levied, the greater the use of the article taxed. I will not, however, occupy the reader's time in dwelling longer on a subject which all, who know any thing of the people of India, deprecate at present any interference with. Had the Company's government attempted to suppress suttees† at the time when infanticide was put a stop to, England would not now be in possession of India; and even at the present advanced period of civilization and knowledge, the Bengal government would not

* Mr. Rickards admits that, although "the Hindoo castes are now the same as they have been for centuries," yet, in spite of this impediment, "the light of knowledge, irresistible in its progress, has at length penetrated the barrier of Eastern darkness." Vol. i. p. 115.

† There can be no doubt that this infernal rite originated in the jealousy of princes, who feared that on their decease the numerous wives which they possessed would be enjoyed by other men (their inferiors), and that consequently their memories would be degraded; the system of ancestral law among the Hindoos, by which property became divided among the family after the demise of the widow, brought cupidity to the aid of jealousy; and the Brahmins, for the purpose of perpetuating their domination, made priestcraft an accessary to both; in time, therefore, it became as much a point of honour among very many Hindoo women to sacrifice themselves, as it is to an Englishman, or a Frenchman, or an American, to submit to immolation by means of a pistol, a rapier, or a rifle: with this difference, that the woman only sought her own destruction; but the gentlemen, not content with hazarding their own lives, seek the murder of others. Both customs are atrocious, but they are equally rooted in the prejudices of society, the suttee claiming precedence for antiquity.

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interdict the suttees, until the opinion of the native officers of the Bengal army were had, as to the feelings of the troops on a subject which, as well as infanticide,* involved the dearest rights of humanity, and which in any other country but India, would have instantly fallen beneath the execration of public odium. When we see so powerful an opposition to the abolition of such a diabolical rite as female cremation, let us beware lest we proceed too fast; let us temper prudence with benevolence, policy with principle, and justice with expediency.

* It is well known that the Indian governments have spared no exertions to put a stop to this unnatural crime in India, among their allies as well as vassals; but unfortunately, pride, poverty, and avarice are leagued with superstition to perpetuate these horrible sacrifices. It is stated that Major Walker, previous to his departure from Guzerat, received the most affecting compliment which a good man could receive, in being welcomed at the gate of the palace, on some public occasion, by a procession of girls of high rank who owed their lives to him, and who came to kiss his clothes, and throw wreaths of flowers over him, as their deliverer and second father.

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## CHAPTER VII.

THE COLONIZATION OF INDIA BY ENGLISHMEN;—REFUTATION OF MR. RICKARDS' CALUMNY;—PETITION OF THE NATIVES AGAINST COLONIZATION; — MOTIVES WHICH INFLUENCED THE COURT OF DIRECTORS IN GRANTING LICENSES;—IF EUROPEANS HAD BEEN ALLOWED AN INDISCRIMINATE RESORT TO INDIA, THE LANDED PROPERTY OF THE HINDOOS WOULD HAVE PASSED INTO THE HANDS OF THE FORMER.

THE subject on which I am now about to treat is one of great importance, not merely to the mercantile prosperity of India and England, but also to the continued connection of both countries: I mean the colonization of India. Before entering on it however, I cannot help protesting against the unjust, and I will add untrue assertion of Mr. Rickards, that by the East-India Company "British merchants in India, have ever been considered interlopers and enemies,—sometimes exposed to virulent persecutions and barbarous cruelty, and uniformly branded with the imputation of being incorrigible disturbers of the public peace."*

Does Mr. Rickards support this monstrous charge by a shadow of proof? No! not an iota. He quotes a "note" from Mr. Mills' work (a gentleman who has never been in India); the utmost tendency of which† is

* Rickards' India, vol. i. p. 82.

† Even this very note is quoted, it appears, by Mr. Mill, from another old work, entitled "Hamilton's New Account of India, p. 232."

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to shew that Sir Josiah Child wrote to the government of Bombay in 1691 (!) "to crush those who invaded the ground of the Company's pretensions in India!!"—The allegation against the Indian government is in itself so serious, that I cannot help expressing my astonishment that a person of Mr. Rickards' age and experience, as well as standing in society, could have dared to utter so gross a calumny. Where are the instances of "barbarous cruelty" which Mr. Rickards asserts to have been perpetrated on British merchants? In what records are they "branded as incorrigible disturbers of the public peace?" Sir, I am gratified that you have presumptuously uttered so outrageous a mis-statement, for it will lead every unprejudiced person to look with contempt on your unworthy endeavours to raise a popular outcry against a body, to which you yourself are principally indebted for the station you now enjoy. Lest, however, there should be some who, dazzled with a name, are ever ready to lend a willing ear to those, who announce themselves as 'lights to lighten the Gentiles,' I will not content myself with merely offering a negative to the foregoing infamous charge, but prove its falsity by a detail of irrefutable facts.

The words "ever been" require that I should look even beyond the present century for refutation; and the first document that presents itself, is a table prepared by Mr. Hodgson, of the Madras civil service, and delivered into the House of Lords, 6th May 1830, to shew the attempts which have been made in the Madras territory to cultivate silk, cotton, cochineal, and other articles, by free merchants, who received every possible assistance from the Company's government.

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PRESIDENCY OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

| District. | Date. | Nature, Extent, and Object of Grant. | Result. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ganjam | Between 1796 and 1803 | Grant of land for the erection of sugar works, to Messrs. Smith and Colley, reverted to a Mr. Dick. The making of rum tried; sugar was not cultivated by these gentlemen; the cane was bought. | Unsatisfactory. |
| | 1800 to 1803 | A lease of two pergunnahs, containing many villages, to Major Evans, superintendent of the Company's stud, to facilitate the breeding of horses. Cocoa-nut plantations on a great scale were tried. Major Evans was here a farmer of revenue, or European Zemindar. | Unsatisfactory as regarded the breeding of horses and rearing cocoa-nuts. |
| Vizagapatam | 1795 1804 | A lease of many villages to Messrs. Campbell and Keating, for the cultivation and manufacture of indigo, &c. These gentlemen were European Zemindars during the period of their lease. | Unsatisfactory as regarded indigo. |
| Rajahmundri | 1793 1800 | A grant of land to Dr. Roxburgh, near Samulcottah, for sugar plantations and exotics. This grant was not of any great extent, and did not include the superiority over any native village. Pepper tried, I believe. | Unsatisfactory and abandoned. |
| Guntoor Masulipatam | 1794 1796 | Various grants of small plots of ground were made in these and the provinces named above, for the creation of mulberry and opuntia gardens, for the rearing of silk-worms and of the cochineal insect. | Unsatisfactory as regarded silk and cochineal. |
| Nellore and Ongole | 1801 to 1804 | Grant of privilege to work copper mines to Captain Ashton, H. M. 12th regt. | Unsatisfactory as regarded copper. |
| Company's Jagheer | 1793 1795 | Grant of land (part endowed land of a pagoda at Vulloor) to Mr. Popham, for the cultivation of Bourbon cotton | Unsatisfactory. |

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Presidency of Fort St. George—*continued.*

| District. | Date. | Nature, Extent, and Object of Grant. | Result. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Company's Jagheer | | and mulberry plants; not a grant of village superiorities. | |
| | | Transferred to Mr. W. Webb, who tried rope-making from the Alve. | Unsatisfactory. |
| | | Grant of land to make mulberry plantations, to Mr. Robert Wolfe and to several natives. *N.B.*—In all cases of grants of land (not being entire villages), the possession and occupation of the land was obtained for buildings and plantations for mulberry trees by private agreements made with the cultivators. | Unsatisfactory. |
| | 1793 | Large occupation of land at Vellout, fifteen miles from Madras, under a Company's superintendent, for a mulberry garden and silk filature. Expensive works erected. | Failure. |
| | 1793 1795 | Grant of land and lease of villages to Messrs. Roebuck and Abbot, for the cultivation of indigo, &c. Expensive works erected. Much correspondence with the collectors and the government. | Failure. |
| | 1795 | Nursery for trees and bamboos on an extensive scale, by the collectors at Parambaucum. | Failure. |
| | 1784 | Grant of land to establish a weaving village, &c. to Mr. Jordan, near St. Thomas Mount, fifteen or twenty miles from Madras. | Failure. |
| Cuddalore South Arcot | 1802 to 1805 | Grant of land for a sugar manufactory, to Mr. Campbell. *N.B.*—Not certain whether the sugar-cane was cul- | Failure as regarded sugar. |

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Presidency of Fort St. George—*continued.*

| District. | Date. | Nature, Extent, and Object of Grant. | Result. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | tivated by Mr. Campbell or purchased from the natives. | |
| Barramahal | 1793 1795 | Grant of land for the rearing of exotics, and experimental agriculture and horticulture, to Mr. Meyther. | Failure. |
| | 1804 | Grant of lands for indigo works. | Going on. |
| | 1812 | Grant of lands for indigo works. | Ditto. |
| Arcot Tinnevelly | 1793 to 1808 | Establishment, under commercial resident, of plantations of cinnamon and nutmegs, and coffee plantations. Introduction of the cultivation of Bourbon cotton. The Bourbon cotton has succeeded; the cinnamon and coffee culture has been abandoned. The Bourbon cotton cannot be greatly extended; the plant thriving only either in a peculiar soil or climate; the latter most likely. | Successful as regards cotton; abandoned as regards cinnamon, coffee, and nutmegs, owing to the acquisition of Ceylon. |
| | | Grant of land to Mr. Young, son-in-law to Dr. Anderson, and afterwards to Mr. Hughes, for cultivation of cotton manufacture, of indigo, &c. | Failure as regards Mr. Young, Mr. Hughes going on. |
| Malabar | 1792 1808 | A lease of village and grant of land to Mr. Murdock Brown, for various purposes, rearing of pepper, &c. entailed much correspondence and discussion. | Successful, it is believed, as concerned Mr. Brown. |
| | 1792 | Grant for the erection of a saw-mill, and advances on the Company's account by Governor Duncan. | Failure, with much loss. |
| | | *Experiments, successful efforts of Europeans.* | |
| Mysore | 1800 | The introduction of the potatoe into Mysore. It has become an article of export to Madras and elsewhere. | |

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Presidency of Fort St. George—*continued.*

| District. | Date. | Nature, Extent, and Object of Grant. | Result. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bangalore | 1805 | The introduction of the apple, peach, strawberry, and other fruits. | |
| Neilgerry Hills | 1818 to 1820 | Introduction of European fruits, &c. on the mountains of Neilgerry. | |
| Tinnivelly, Arcot, | 1796 | The introduction of Bourbon cotton. | |
| and other provinces | 1800 to 1805 | The manufacture of indigo in an improved process from the cold infusion. | |
| | 1793 | The introduction of all sorts of articles manufactured in tin; now a most extensive native manufacture in every large town. | |
| | 1801 1802 | A canal dug by Mr. Cochrane, opening a communication between Madras and Pulicat, highly successful. | |
| | | The improvement in stamping instead of painting cotton goods, and introduction of improved patterns. | |
| | | An improvement in the manufacture of steel. | |
| | | The cultivation of coffee is spreading in Mysore and Bengal, it is said. | |
| | | The cultivation of oats in Bengal and Behar. | |
| | 1801 | Silk at Bangalore. | |
| | 1802 | Indigo in Tanjore, Salem, and Tondiman's country. | |

Now Sir, as your partizans may not be satisfied with the foregoing table, nor with my referring them to the efforts made by the Company during the last and present century, in sending out and employing Mr. Fitzmaurice, Mr. Jones, and others for sugar manufacture, coal mines, &c., I will quote other testimony equally conclusive as Mr. Hodgson's. Mr. G. Mackillop, a free merchant who resided eighteen

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years in Bengal, says in March 1832, "So far as the East-India Company are concerned, it appears to me that every facility has been given to the trade with India calculated to promote its increase."

Mr. Ritchie, a free merchant of Bombay, on being asked by the Parliamentary Committee (7th March 1831), "if the free trade was molested or impeded in any way by the authorities of the East-India Company, so as to make any interference of Parliament of service?" replied, on the question being repeatedly put to him in a variety of shapes, "I am not aware of any impediment whatever which we labour under that could be removed, except taking off the duties." These duties, although trifling in themselves, Mr. Ritchie subsequently stated were all taken off by the local authorities, and approved by the Court of Directors. Indeed, so desirous were the Company's Government "to remove even the appearance of preference and favour in the Legislature," that a Regulation was passed by the Bengal Government, a copy of which I have fortunately brought with me from India. The following is a verbatim copy:

A.D. 1829.—Regulation IX.

A Regulation for rescinding some of the Rules of Regulation XXXI. 1793, and the corresponding Rules for Benares and the Ceded Provinces, and for placing the Commercial Agents of the East-India Company on the same footing towards Natives of the country as other persons.—Passed by the Governor General in Council on the 9th June 1829, corresponding with the 28th Jeyte 1236, Bengal Era; the 22d Jeyte 1236, Fusly; the 29th Jeyte 1236, Willaity; the 8th Jeyte 1886, Sumbut, and the 6th Zehijja 1244, Higeree.

Regulation XXXI. 1793, and the corresponding enactments for Benares and the ceded and conquered provinces, were passed for the purpose of prescribing rules for the conduct of the commercial residents in their dealings with native weavers and others employed in the provision of the investment of the East-India Company: those rules were then required no less as a safeguard against abuse of power by the commercial residents and agents for the Company, than for the protection of the commercial officers against fraud and embezzle-

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ment, and for ensuring the execution of the contracts entered into by these officers. At the present day the same reasons do not exist for prescribing by special regulation, the course to be observed in respect to contracts entered into for the provision of articles of the Honourable Company's investment: it has accordingly been deemed expedient, in order *to remove the appearance of favour and preference in the legislature,* which the existence of a special enactment of the kind is calculated to excite, to rescind the provisions of the existing Regulations giving such a preference, and to leave the commercial residents, and other agents of the Company, to follow the same process of law in the enforcement of contracts and in their other dealings with the natives of the country as individual traders. The following rules have accordingly been passed to be in force within the territories subject to the Presidency of Fort William, from the date of the promulgation of this Regulation.

II. Sections II. to XVIII. inclusive, of Regulation XXXI. 1793, with the explanatory rules of sections III. and IV. Regulation IX. 1801, extended to Benares by section II. Regulation IV. 1805, also the corresponding sections of Regulation XXXVII. 1803, for the ceded provinces, are hereby rescinded.

III. *First.* Commercial residents and other officers providing articles for the investment of the Honourable East-India Company, or otherwise employed in purchasing or procuring goods for purposes of trade, shall sue and be sued, and be subject to the process and jurisdiction of the civil or criminal courts of the country, in the same manner as the agents and factors of any other merchants, saving always the privileges and immunities they may enjoy as British subjects; and subject to the rules and restrictions contained in the general regulations respecting suits conducted or defended on account of the Honourable Company, or otherwise in their public capacity.

*Second.* Native workmen and other persons, weavers, silk-winders, &c. in the employment of commercial residents, also persons under engagement to deliver articles to the commercial officers of the Honourable Company, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, subject to the same process, civil and criminal, of the courts and public officers of the country, as other natives living within the jurisdiction of the said courts and public officers respectively, and no distinction shall be made in the form and manner of serving the process on them.

IV. Modification of the rule contained in Section III. Regulation II. 1814, it is hereby prescribed and provided, that when a petition of plaint against a commercial resident or other commercial officer amenable to the jurisdiction of the court, shall be lodged in any court of civil judicature, notice of the same shall be sent in the manner pre-

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scribed by Section XIX. Regulation XXXI. 1793, to the said officer, and a copy of the same shall be forwarded to the Board of Trade, who shall inform the court within six weeks from the date of their receipt of the petition, whether the suit shall be defended as a Government action, or at the risk and cost of the officer sued. If no intimation be received by the court within the period stated, due allowance being made for the period occupied in the conveyance of letters to and fro by the public dawk, the case shall proceed, and be carried to judgment as a personal action against the commercial resident or other officer sued.

I might, were it not unnecessary after citing the foregoing regulation, adduce the testimony of Mr. Bracken, Mr. Mackillop, and other free merchants, to shew that the commercial residents of the Company have not any unfair advantages over other persons purchasing in the same market; * I shall therefore pass on to glance at the East-India Register for May 1832, to see the number of merchants under the list of European inhabitants in Bengal alone.

I find on enumeration that there are two hundred and seven merchants' names in the Bengal list! Is it not strange, that none of these two hundred merchants complain of the "barbarous cruelties" to which the Company's Government subject them? that none of their numerous European assistants have ever yet uttered a complaint? — that the many hundred of European indigo planters, and their hundreds of European assistants, have

* In the documents laid before Parliament is an extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government, dated 6th September 1813, in which the following expressions are used: "We cannot omit expressing our expectation that all our servants shall conduct themselves with liberality and candour, and act up to the full spirit of the Legislature, so that if the traders should be disappointed in their views, they may have no ground for imputing their disappointment to any deviation on our part from the principle upon which the trade is opened to them." The Court in all their despatches invariably desire, that the "private trader, as well as the Company's commercial agents, should have every practicable aid and facility in obtaining the regular supply of their investments, according to their respective engagements with the producers." Appendix to Report from the Commons for 1831.



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not protested against the "barbarous cruelties" inflicted on them?—that the numerous European general shopkeepers, and the watch-makers, jewellers, apothecaries, tailors, gun-makers, printers, boot and shoe-makers, provisioners, publicans and sinners of every denomination, are, strange to say, so much pleased with what Mr. Rickards is pleased (perhaps jocularly) to term "barbarous cruelties!"—that they persist in subjecting themselves, without a murmur, to their tyrants, drink their "loll shrop," smoke their "hookas," and dash along in their "buggies," or barouches, as merry as if they led the pleasantest lives in the world. Unless like Irishmen they are "used to hanging," and therefore care nothing for the "barbarous cruelties" which the fertile imagination of Mr. Rickards has conjured up, they must be a most insensible as well as ungrateful set of mortals, not to come forward with some statement of their sufferings. Really I fear the reader would be nauseated were I to extract a few more of Mr. Rickards' and Mr. Crawfurd's statements, and therefore proceed to examine the grounds on which the Company's Government have adopted their present and past policy with respect to colonization.

The history of European colonization, whether in the Eastern or Western hemisphere, is marked by two decided features—either the annihilation of the dark, by the fair races of men, or a degradation of the latter into an inferior order of beings.* To avoid the latter has of course been an earnest matter with the English East-India Company since their earliest conquests in Hindostan: to avert the former, has been the never-ceasing object of their vigilance;—so far, the measures taken have proved adequate to the important ends in view: indeed, with respect to the

* As at Goa, or any of the Indian or African settlements where the Portuguese have colonized themselves.

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parliamentary prohibition of Englishmen from purchasing lands in Hindostan, the Edinburgh reviewers acknowledge it to be so extraordinary an act of self-denying policy, that "it is difficult to describe the astonishment with which foreigners learn this act of the British Legislature; several persons of distinction in France could not conceal the impression produced by mentioning it." This was particularly the case with Napoleon, whose eagle-mind at a glance, saw the justice as well as the profound policy of the measure. Had it not been adopted, where would now be the dark inhabitants of the soil? would there have been a remnant of them left in another half-century? or if in existence, would they not have been as *adscripti glebæ* instead of lords of the soil? The Indians on the banks of the Ganges or Indus would have been as degraded and as destitute as are at the present day the Indians on the banks of the Orinoco or the Missisippi! That this is the feeling of the natives, will be seen by the following petition presented to the House of Commons last month (July 1832), by Mr. Cutlar Fergusson; it is extracted from the Minutes of the House of Commons, and demands particular attention, more particularly as it emanates from a body of men possessed of the greatest influence and wealth in Bengal.

PETITION from BENGAL against COLONIZATION.

"A petition of the Zemindars, Talookdars, and other native inhabitants of Calcutta and its subordinate districts, was presented and read; setting forth, that the Petitioners have learned with equal surprise and alarm, that the British inhabitants of Calcutta have transmitted a petition to be presented to the House, praying, among other things, that the House will be pleased to take into consideration the expediency of abolishing all restrictions on the resort of British subjects to, and on their residence in India; in consequence of which the petitioners beg leave respectfully to lay before Parliament the grievances which they apprehend from this measure, if adopted, for such consideration as the House may be pleased to bestow; that the Petitioners are every day more and more taught to acknowledge



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the protection of their persons and property, which they now enjoy under the benignant rule of the British sceptre; but that the Petitioners, if they have rightly comprehended the nature of the privilege demanded by those who pray for an unrestricted resort to, and residence in India of British subjects, cannot look forward to the undisturbed and permanent enjoyment of these blessings; and should it please the House to grant the prayer of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, the Petitioners are fully persuaded that, however great the blessings which they now enjoy under the British rule (and the Petitioners thankfully admit them to be numerous and valuable), the period cannot be far distant when all will again be anarchy and confusion, in a country rescued, under Providence, from the recurrence of these evils by the judicious and unrestricted intercourse established between the rulers and the ruled; that the Petitioners therefore regard the regulations of the local government of India, restricting Europeans from the purchase, renting, or occupation of land in the interior of the country, as most wise and expedient in themselves, and as guarding the Petitioners against the most serious evils and aggressions to which they would otherwise be exposed, and humbly pray that the House will not consent to deprive the local governments of the power of restricting the residence of Europeans in India which they now possess, *nor grant any greater facilities to colonization than now exist;* that the Petitioners are further constrained to lay before the House their decided opinion that, restricted as is the right of Europeans to reside in the interior of the country, the Petitioners are often doomed to experience its evil effects; the Petitioners would only humbly call the attention of the House to the state of the law as it now relatively affects Europeans settled in the interior, and natives who necessarily come in contact with them, and the Petitioners are persuaded that the House will not, by granting the prayer of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, increase an evil already felt to be so oppressive; should any one of the Petitioners, or other natives, be injured by a British subject resident in the interior, however distant from Calcutta, they are compelled to prosecute in the Supreme Court at the presidency, the offender not being subject in criminal cases, to which the Petitioners allude, to the laws of the Mofussil Courts; this the Petitioners already feel to be a grievous evil, subjecting them, when the remedy is sought, to a ruinous expense, and compelling them in innumerable instances to submit to the injury rather than attempt seeking redress; the Petitioners humbly submit that, were the prayer of the British inhabitants of Calcutta granted while the present state of the law exists, this evil would rise to a magnitude that might speedily endanger the

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peace and stability of the British empire in India; as it could not fail to excite a spirit of wide-spreading and general discontent among the native population; that the Petitioners are enabled to lay before the House still more incontrovertible grounds on which they humbly implore, that greater facilities may not be given by the House than now exist to the residence of British subjects in the interior of that country, and the Petitioners are the more anxious to call the attention of the House to the statements they now humbly lay before it, with an assurance of their being a true and faithful picture of facts, in consequence of the very important misapprehensions into which the Petitioners understand that the public in England have been led on this subject; the Petitioners are bound to state to the House, that in the districts where British subjects following the occupation of indigo planters have been permitted to settle themselves, even under the present restrictions, the native population is more injured, harassed, and distressed, than in any other parts of the country; the Petitioners will not take upon themselves to say how far the regulations of the local governments, if duly enforced, are sufficient or otherwise to obviate the evils of which they complain, they will content themselves with stating to the House, that lands which are required for the growth of rice, the great support of the native population, are seized upon by force or fraud and converted into fields of indigo,* whereby the population is brought to suffer great

* This view of the subject is supported by a zemindar, in the *Bengal Herald* of July 1829, p. 143. That zemindar is the justly celebrated Dwarkanaut Tagore, a man of as princely, as noble a disposition as ever breathed, and whose generosity towards Europeans has never, even in India (where so many thousand of his countrymen are ready to assist them) had a parallel. The following is an extract of his letter; it is in reply to some observations of an indigo planter about the lowering of rents: "Many indigo planters have taken ezeras or farms from the zemindars; have they lowered the rents to restrain the ryots from turning dacoits? I suspect a very different version could be given, as regards the distress in these districts. I will mention one source. The ryot generally rents some superior land for the cultivation of sugar or tobacco, at a high rate of from two to three rupees a beegah. The kind indigo planter *sows his indigo there by force*, and the poor peasant is not only obliged to pay that high rent, but is deprived of the resources which he expected from his sugar and tobacco crops, which to him are the staff of life; has the indigo planter the presumption to suppose, that the zemindars ought to come forward to reduce the rent of this land, when he has *forcibly sown his indigo* in the same ground at eight annas a beegah?

The late horrid murder at Barasut is now undergoing investigation, and I hope it will soon be proved that it was not committed by poor ryuts, who *suffer such hardships* from the zemindars, but by those

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distress, and to be often threatened with all the horrors of famine itself: an evil aggravated by the mode practised too frequently by indigo planters, of detaining the cattle of the poor natives, and by this means extorting money from the ryots of the Petitioners. That, from the experience which the Petitioners have had, they are firmly persuaded, that if British subjects are permitted to hold any zemindarry or landed property in the interior, the native zemindars and their ryots now being in comfort, will be ultimately most seriously

those people who are connected with the neelwallahs. If the magistrates of the districts will enquire, they will soon find that many indigo planters encroach on the lands of others, and for the purpose of supporting themselves in their unlawful aggressions, they sometimes keep as retainers several hundred lattawallahs, at a salary of from four to eight rupees a month! Is it not extremely probable, that these lawless brigands are frequently the perpetrators of the murders and dacoits we hear of? And does not such a system tend to keep up a race of nefarious characters, whose sole occupation being deeds of violence, will not hesitate to plunder for themselves, when the duty enjoined by their European master is of a similar nature. I would advise " an indigo planter" not to venture into the broad ocean of surmises, but confine himself simply to the narration of facts, which this letter will afford him an example of. As your impartiality leads you to consider both sides of a question, you will doubtless insert this; and you will probably soon hear again from " A Zemindar."

The testimony of Dwarkanaut Tagore is confirmed (if indeed the testimony of such a man needs confirmation) by that of the Honourable A. Ramsay, in his Evidence before the Lords:

3531. *Q.* Do you mean to say that the cultivation of indigo is carried on on a general system of compulsion? *A.* No, I am certain it is not; I am only alluding to a large proportion of planters in the lower parts of Bengal, where a number of low Europeans and half-castes are settled.—*Q.* The system of compulsion is in fact an abuse? *A.* A great abuse.—*Q.* And it is confined to one district? *A.* It is confined to the whole of Bengal.—*Q.* Is it general throughout Bengal? *A.* It is now becoming more general every day. When I first knew Bengal, it was confined to the districts near Calcutta, Kishnagur and Jessore principally.—*Q.* Is the compulsory cultivation of indigo general throughout those districts? *A.* I believe it is.—*Q.* And the perfect impotence of the law to protect the natives against it? *A.* I believe it is; but I beg, in addition to those two districts, to add three or four more—Rajeshaye, Purneah, Malda, and Moorshedabad.—*Q.* Throughout those districts, is the condition of the ryot cultivating indigo materially worse than that of other ryots, speaking generally, otherwise than in the instance of a very bad master? *A.* I speak in reference to the three or four first districts I first mentioned merely from report; I speak of Moorshedabad and Malda from what I have myself seen.—*Q.* Of what date? *A.* In 1824, 1825, and 1826; and I say decidedly, that the state of the ryots in those districts is in a very deplorable condition, as compared with the other ryots in the same districts who do not cultivate indigo.

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injured; that the Petitioners will always receive with thankfulness any improvement by which European talent and skill can promote their happiness and the general prosperity of their country, but the Petitioners most humbly remind the House, that the British Legislature has given to the natives of India the most solemn pledge that, in the prosecution of their improvements, the property, laws, usages and religion of the Petitioners will be respected; that the Petitioners most solemnly declare their opinion, that if the unrestricted resort to and residence in India, now sought by the British inhabitants of Calcutta, be granted by the House, this pledge cannot be redeemed, firmly persuaded as the Petitioners are, that the rights already from time immemorial involved in every part of their country, cannot continue co-existent with those which the most limited colonization of Europeans would necessarily introduce.

"The Petitioners cannot doubt that in the event of colonization being allowed by the House, the local government of that country would regard it as a primary duty to protect and encourage the colonists seeking to obtain a settlement and a home in their dominions; but the Petitioners humbly represent to the House that, situated as the natives of that country are, this support and encouragement would, in almost all cases, be given at the expense of the present owners of the soil, and would lead inevitably to the ultimate ruin and degradation of the very people for whose advantage the measure is now so ignorantly proposed to the House.

"That the Petitioners, as is well known, are prevented by their customs of caste, usages, and religion, from enjoying a privilege similar to that which it is the object of the British inhabitants of Calcutta to obtain for British subjects; and that, however much they may be inundated by foreigners settling on their lands and becoming possessed of their property, they would be doomed to remain in poverty and degradation on their native soil, where a people differently situated would find relief from emigration.

"That the Petitioners, and more especially the labouring and manufacturing classes of natives, are already suffering grievous hardships in consequence of those principles in trade and commerce which the Petitioners are told are now actuating the English councils, not being extended to the produce of that country, while every encouragement is held out to the exportation from England to that country of the growth and produce of foreign as well as English industry, and while many thousands of the natives of that country, who a short time ago derived a livelihood from the growth of cotton and the manufacture of cotton goods, are without bread in consequence of the facilities afforded to the produce of America and the

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manufacturing industry of England; and the article of sugar, to the production of which the lands of the Petitioners might be turned, is loaded with such heavy duties in England as effectually to shut the market against the industry of the East-Indians when turned to this particular commodity.

"These evils already weighing so heavily on the Petitioners, would be tenfold increased, in their opinion, were the prayer of the British inhabitants of Calcutta agreed to by the House, and the connexion between England and India, which has hitherto proved a mutual blessing and advantage to both, be converted into a most direful misfortune to the Petitioners."

There is not a line of the foregoing petition which is not pregnant with instruction and sound policy for the guidance of Parliament; but as regards the former part of the petition (the latter is alluded to in the chapter on Free-trade), it may be said, these are the sentiments of bigots, of men who are ready to take alarm at the slightest innovation; let us therefore hear what Rajah Rammohun Roy says in his answers to the queries of the Board of Control; no one will stigmatize the Rajah as an "alarmist," a lover of exploded theories or doctrines,—but Rammohun Roy is well acquainted with the truth of the allegation, that the character, manners, language, customs, religion, modes of thinking, prejudices, &c. are so essentially different, as to present an insuperable barrier, at least for ages, to the European and the Hindoo being united by the associations and connexions of domestic life, or by national interest or feeling, and that a fearful collision must inevitably be the result.

The following is the Rajah's testimony, which is highly confirmatory of the sound and humane policy of the Company.

### Rajah Rammohun Roy on Colonization.

*Q.* "Would it be advantageous or the reverse, to admit Europeans of all descriptions to become settlers?—*A.* Such a measure could only be regarded as adopted for the purpose of *entirely supplanting the native inhabitants, and expelling them from the country*; because it is

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obvious, that there is no resemblance between the higher and educated classes of Europeans and the lower and uneducated classes. The difference in character, opinions, and sentiments, between the European and the Indian race, particularly in social and religious matters, is so great, that the two races could not possibly exist as one community in a country conquered by the former, unless they were assimilated by constant intercourse, continued and increased for a long period of years uuder a strong and rigorous system of police, in every village large and small; an establishment so expensive, however, that the present revenues of India could not support it. Such an assimilation has, in some measure, taken place at Calcutta, from the daily communication of many of the respectable members of both communities; yet even in that capital, though the seat of government, and numerous police officers are placed at almost every hundred yards, the common Europeans are often disposed to annoy the native inhabitants. Without capital, the humble classes of European society could not in a hot country compete with the native labourers, who are accustomed to the climate, and from their very habits of life in regard to food, clothes, and lodging, can subsist on at least one-sixth, if not one-tenth of what is required by an European labourer; consequently, the latter would not find his situation at all improved, but the very reverse, by emigrating to India.

*Q.* "Would the judicial system as at present established, be sufficient to control the European settlers in the interior of the country?" —*A.* "At present, British-born subjects are not amenable to the Company's courts, except as regards small debts under £50, and for petty cases of assault; consequently under the present regulations, the courts as now established are by no means competent to exercise an adequate control over British-born subjects in the interior."

In the foregoing we find Rammohun Roy agreeing with his countrymen in India, although he is at variance with them on religious and other topics; and he is not an individual who would stoop to flatter the Company, or applaud their policy at the sacrifice of his conscience; on the contrary, he plainly shews that the principles of colonization now held forth for adoption, if put in execution, could have no other effect than "*entirely to supplant the native inhabitants, and expel them from the country.*" It is but fair to let the Company speak for themselves, as to the course they have pursued in the system of granting licenses to in-

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dividuals; this is amply detailed in a letter from the Court of Directors to the Right Honourable George Canning, in 1818, an extract from which contains the following remarks:—

"The uniform wish of the Court of Directors has been, on the one hand, fairly and honestly to promote all the objects which appeared to them to have been contemplated by the Legislature, in prescribing an extension of moral, intellectual, and commercial intercourse between the two countries; and on the other hand, to avoid any further departure from the principles of the long-established system of Indian administration than was essentially necessary for the attainment of those objects. In the responsible, delicate, and somewhat invidious situation in which they are placed, they have thought it equally inconsistent with their obligation to grant unlimited facilities, and to start captious objections; they have endeavoured to proportion means to legitimate ends—to distinguish between reasonable and groundless applications, and to consult the wishes of individuals, as far as was compatible with the paramount interests of the public."

The Court, in specifying the different classes of applicants for permission to proceed to and settle in India, observe at considerable length on the motives which have influenced their decisions; for instance, schoolmasters and missionaries were permitted; barristers and attornies according to the supply in demand for the Supreme Courts; partners in mercantile houses, or assistants, with an expectation of becoming partners, permitted; mechanics, so many as would be of service in instructing the natives in several branches of knowledge; ladies, if of good character, or sent for by their relatives; mere clerks in any branch of business, or domestics, the Court have been unwilling to allow permission to, for it is well known that excellent writers and servants can be had in the greatest abundance among the natives and Indo-Britons abroad, who have no right to be thrown out of employ in Calcutta, by reason of there being a supply greater than the demand for those persons in England. Since 1814, the Court of

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Directors have granted permission to one hundred and six young men to proceed to India to join indigo factories; only eleven applicants were objected to, and those because they had no probable prospects of obtaining a subsistence in India. The total number of European indigo planters and their assistants in Bengal is now four hundred and seventy-three, and so far from this body being treated with hardship, one of the sitting stipendiary magistrates of Calcutta was raised to his present station on the bench from an indigo factory at Kishnaghur. A Parliamentary return states the number of European residents, not in the service of his Majesty or the Company, to be as follows:

| | 1814. | 1828. | 1831.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengal | 1,100 | 1,595 | 2,201 |
| Fort St. George | 115 | 116 | 125 |
| Bombay | 240 | 286 | 331 |
| Penang, Malacca, and Sincapore | 46 | 19 | 30 |
| Total | 1,501 | 2,016 | 2,687 |

It is true that the Company exact security bonds from the persons proceeding to their territories: but that regulation is not confined to the free traders, it applies equally to their own covenanted servants, who have entered into bonds since 1814, which average £100,000 per annum; if, therefore, the Company's Government have deemed it necessary that their own servants, under immediate control, liable to a loss of situation, pension, &c., should comply with such demands for the better security of the territories entrusted to the government of the Company, how much more so is it with regard to those who have but an indirect interest in the maintenance of tranquillity! I say that the European residents in India have but an indirect interest

* I have added 1831, from the East-India Register for May 1832.

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in the preservation of tranquillity in the British dominions in the East; I might go much farther, and say that they have a direct interest in the very reverse; for example, while the Burmese war was being carried on, the merchants in India made immense fortunes by the expenditure of the Company in military stores, provisions, hiring of transports, &c.; a great portion of the twelve or fifteen millions sterling which the war cost, passed through their hands. But when the contest had terminated, how did they act? Did they say to the Company's Government, "you have been at an immense expense in preserving the city of Calcutta from being attacked by the Burmese, by making a diversion on the enemy at Rangoon and Arracan; you had a full treasury previous to the war, and you had not only to expend the surplus money in hand, but, in order to preserve your western dominions from internal insurrection, and your eastern frontier from external aggression, you were obliged to borrow ten or twelve millions sterling, a great part of which we acknowledge to have received; we therefore think it but just that we should contribute in a moderate proportion to the liquidation of the debt, particularly as our native brethren are already very heavily taxed for the expenses of the state;" did the Indian European merchants act in this noble manner? No; they grasped at every thing they could, while the contest lasted; applauded the Government for its spirited perseverance, but

> The war being over and the expenditure lightened,
> They pocketed the cash, and the Company slighted.

The imposition of a stamp tax in the city of Calcutta, raised a hue and cry, which was re-echoed by the London agents; alarming and false petitions were presented to Government; and the great firms of Messrs. So and So,

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did all but "sit dhurna," after the manner of their Benares brethren, when a house tax was about to be imposed. I mention this circumstance to shew that a war in India is beneficial for the European merchants, who will not contribute for its support, but, with all their pretended philanthropy and liberality, are as ready to shift the burthen off their own shoulders as they are to—

"Make hay while the sun shines."

Supposing that some Europeans in the service of Runjeet Singh were to stir up that potentate to war; that a few of the newly arrived "colonists" were to instil "leprous drops" into the ears of the despots who have been dethroned, for the purpose of causing a disturbance in India; will any one who knows any thing of human nature, assert that it would not be acceptable to the Indian merchants?

Granting that they were compelled to pay a portion of the expenditure, they would look forward to greater gains; the very men who are now peaceful shopkeepers in Calcutta, would instantly become camp suttlers, and those who have mixed in the various classes of European society in India, must have heard the frequent observation, "Oh! we want a war with some one to set the rupees afloat."

We see, therefore, that there are several cogent reasons for the policy pursued by the Company;—First, the holding out to their European civil and military servants inducements to consider England and not India as their home, has prevented the deterioration of the dominant race, and preserved them from exhibiting before their inferiors that senility which so rapidly ensues in a tropical climate, and before which human genius, wisdom, and energy, become prostrate;* a continued accession of vigorous mind

* Colonel Hopkinson mentions that during thirty-one years' service in India, during which time he had an opportunity of seeing children in great numbers, of European blood, yet he could not recollect above one instance where one of these children attained maturity.

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has therefore been constantly brought into action for the government of India, going hand-in-hand with the improved spirit of the age, and operating as fresh stimuli to leaven the mighty mass of mortality over which it circulates,—as vast avalanches from the cloud-capt Himalaya perennially descend to purify the mountain torrent, quicken the languid tributary streams, and give renovated impulse to the majestic waters, which sweep over thousands of miles in eagerness to join their parent source. Secondly, there arose the necessity of preserving internal tranquillity, in a state so vast, so extraordinary, and so complicated as that of British India, where the political fermentation has not yet subsided, and where, as has been rightly observed, the bulk of the people are too imperfectly acquainted with the structure of our social institutions, not to couple the acts of individual or unofficial Englishmen with the policy of their rulers,—a necessity which, as Mr. Holt Mackenzie says in his recent evidence, "requires that a much greater power must be left to the executive government of the Indian empire than would be fairly claimed or exercised at home—a power of deportation similar to that vested in the secretary of state by the alien act with regard to foreigners; a power," says Mr. Mackenzie, "which I do not think could be altogether taken away from the local Government." But it is said, this power checks mercantile enterprize. Those who make use of the argument, and at the same time boast of the great progress which the free-trade has made in India since 1814, must have most accommodating consciences; at one moment they cry out "look what the private merchant has done since the trade was thrown open, look at the immense indigo cultivation!" the next moment they turn short round and bawl as lustily, "Oh! it is impossible that free-trade can flourish while the power of deportation exists with the

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Indian authorities." I reply to these gentlemen by again quoting the evidence of Mr. Mackenzie, whose testimony before the Committee was certainly not biassed in favour of his late honourable masters: he says, "the experience of the Indian merchants of the principles of the government, has rendered them very little apprehensive of any misuse of the existing power of deportation." Mr. Mackenzie adds: "only two cases have occurred during fifteen years." These I suppose were Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnott; not two merchants or traders, but two talented political writers, a class of men of whom it is well said by the noble bard,—

> "Their breath is agitation, and their life
> A storm, whereon they ride, so sink at last;
> And yet so nursed and bigotted to strife,
> That should their days, surviving perils past,
> Melt to calm twilight, they feel o'ercast
> With sorrow and supineness, and so die:
> E'en as a flame unfed, which runs to waste
> With its own flickering; or a sword laid by,
> Which eats into itself, and rusts ingloriously."

But so chary of their power have the Indian government been, that I am informed by a gentleman now in London, and writing violently, under the auspices of a certain parliamentary aspirant, that himself and two other political writers in India whom I might name, were trying to force the government to deport them. Two of the trio have shifted the scene of action to England, and the other is pursuing a more moderate, and, as he will ultimately find, a more beneficial course for his country, if that be his object, and a more profitable one for himself.

Mr. Holt Mackenzie does not stand alone in his opinion; he is supported even by Mr. Rickards, who says: "It has been thought necessary hitherto to guard the natives of India against violence and oppression on the part of Europeans by prohibiting their going into the interior, and

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perhaps, as matters now stand, *that prohibition is necessary*."* However, as it does not appear probable that the Company would undertake the government of India if divested of this power, guarded as its exercise is by the commanding effect of public opinion in England and in India, I pass to the consideration of the third branch of the subject, namely, the restrictions which have existed, and still exist, to the purchase of land in India by Europeans.

T. H. Baber, Esq., whose warm attachment to the natives of India, as well as to genuine freedom, needs no comment, says in his evidence before the Lords (6th April 1830):—

"I should be very apprehensive that Europeans settling and occupying land would be extremely prejudicial to the interests of the natives.

"*Q*. By occupying land, do you mean holding by lease?—*A*. Yes; holding it on any terms.

"*Q*. In what way would it be prejudicial to the natives, if the natives let the land to the people on their own terms; the question not referring to the indiscriminate introduction of Europeans, but a person wishing to establish himself for the purpose of carrying on business?—*A*. From the tendency of the strong to oppress the weak, which I have seen wherever Europeans have been in the interior, at a distance from European stations; and the people would not complain against them nine times in ten, partly through fear, and partly from want of the means to subsist themselves from their cultivations and homes, and to pay their road expenses, &c.

"*Q*. So that if any person, be his character what it might, should apply for permission to establish himself, it would be wise policy, in your opinion, to refuse him permission?—*A*. Certainly; and another objection is, I think, that whatever the character of the European was, his superior intelligence would give him such a decided superiority over the native operatives, that the whole industry of the country would centre in him."

I might quote whole pages of testimony such as Mr. Baber's to shew the grounds of the Company's policy; whether such humane principles deserve the opprobrium

* Evidence before the Lords, Q. 3976.

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which has been cast on them, I leave to the public to judge. The prohibition against purchasing land was first directed against the Company's own servants, for fear they should take advantage of their situations, and become possessed of a great portion of the landed property of the country. On the introduction of European residents, it was absolutely as necessary to extend the prohibition to them; but of late years, as the natives have become more firmly seated in their estates, and better able from their general knowledge to resist encroachment, permission for Europeans to hold lands on lease, for the cultivation of coffee, cotton, sugar, &c. has been granted; and of late years the Bengal government has extended the period of lease to I think eighty years; the Court of Directors, as I hear, have however, in conformity with the humanizing policy heretofore pursued, restricted the term to twenty-one years.

That this period is quite sufficient for the objects contemplated, will be seen by the evidence of Mr. Harris (21st May 1821, Lords), who cultivated for many years 36,000 beegas of land; and of Mr. Dunlop, who occupied about 25,000 beegas, or 12,000 acres of land.

Mr. Harris was thus questioned:—

"4248. Do you apprehend, that if Europeans generally were enabled to hold leases, the production and manufacture of indigo would be increased?—I should think not much; all the lands fitted for it almost are in cultivation; a certain quantity of land must remain to cultivate rice, and other necessaries of food. A certain proportion only of the ryot's land can be put into cultivation for indigo.

"4249. Must not the amount of indigo produced depend upon the demand for it?—Yes.

"4250. That demand would not be increased by the Europeans holding lands?—No.

"4251. Therefore neither the cultivation of indigo, nor its manufacture, would be at all increased by an alteration of the law?—I do not see that it would be increased by an alteration of the law."



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Mr. Harris a gentleman of great experience, here distinctly states that neither the quantity of indigo produced, nor the demand for it, would be increased by Europeans being enabled to hold lands; and Mr. A. C. Dunlop admits, that "Europeans have the same facility for engaging in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, as they have for engaging in the culture and manufacture of indigo." (Lords 611.)

Mr. Harris say, that he thinks "a twenty-one years' lease would be sufficient to enable the European speculator to derive the full benefit from the employment of his capital." P. 581.

There is one thing certain—colonization cannot be instantaneous; it is therefore necessary to enquire what would be the immediate, and what the remote effects thereof.

Satisfactory conclusions may be arrived at by reasoning from local experience and analogy. The following opinion of Mr. Chaplin, is in unison with that of many other individuals, who have a thorough knowledge of the natives of India. See evidence of Mr. Chaplin, 4th Oct. 1831, as follows:—

"5302. What would be the effect, in your opinion, of allowing Europeans to resort to India, and reside there without restraint?—If totally unrestricted, I should think the measure an extreme dangerous one, and one that would tend *eventually to shake the whole fabric of our government.* Everybody is aware of the tenacity with which the Hindoos adhere to their customs and prejudices, and I fear if Europeans of the lower, or even middling order, were unrestrictedly allowed to reside in the interior of India, those prejudices and customs would be constantly liable to be invaded.

"5332. You state that you think the government might be brought into contempt; what do you mean by bringing the government into contempt?—I allude generally to the lower orders of Europeans, who unquestionably would be in frequent collison with the natives of the country. *The vast difference in their habits and customs would often give rise to broils between them, and these would lead to popular tumults,*

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*and eventually perhaps to insurrection, in which the native army would join, and there would be an end altogether of our Indian empire.*

"5333. From what you know of the Deccan, do you conceive it possible that an individual of dissolute habits could continue in that country for one month?—No; but we know they constantly do attempt it.

"5334. The upshot of your opinion is, that if individuals were established generally in that part of the country, some increased police or magisterial power would be necessary?—I think we should require a magisterial power in every village. The lower orders look upon the natives with the greatest contempt, and usually evince that contempt by calling them *damned black fellows.*

"5335. What are the lower orders of whom you now speak?—I am alluding to the allowing Europeans of the lower orders to go there and colonize.

"5336. You say that the lower orders are in the habit of speaking with contempt of the natives?—Europeans, even of the middling orders, on their first arrival, look upon the natives with great contempt, and not unfrequently apply to them the appellation I have stated, of *damned black fellows.*"

Mr. Chaplin's sentiments are re-echoed by Rajah Rammohun Roy; and Mr. Rickards himself makes the admission of Europeans contingent on "adequate protection to the persons and property of the natives:" (Lords 14th May 1830.) But the difficulty of Europeans purchasing lands any where, except perhaps where the territory is under the zemindarry system, will be apparent, on considering the village corporations which exist throughout the far greater part of India, and which are thus described by the intelligent Colonel Briggs, author of an able work on the land tax of India:—

"I find in all villages three classes of cultivators: one cultivator, who has a right of selling his land and of paying a certain fixed sum to government; another cultivator, who has not a right of selling his land, but a right of occupancy *ad infinitum*, so long as he pays a certain sum to government, and a certain portion also in fees to the first description of cultivators; there is also a third cultivator, who comes from other villages, and cultivates by agreement, from year to year. Those persons have quite distinct rights; and I think any ryotwarry



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settlement which gave to all classes the same rights, would be doing injustice to other parties.

"4079. Where such a variety of rights exists in the village, would it not be very inconvenient for an European to obtain a lease of any large portion of land thus circumstanced?—I do not know how any Europeans could occupy lands in India, *unless the government were to give up the waste lands, which they now claim under the zemindarry settlement, or in places where zemindarry settlements have been made, and the whole of the land had been made over to the zemindars as proprietors, in the permanent settlement of Bengal.*

"4080. Do you conceive it would be possible for either of the classes of cultivators you have alluded to, to lease to any others?—*No.*

"4153. Does the same jealousy as you have described in the Rajah, with respect to the acquaintance with English literature or English habits, extend to other chiefs and persons of an inferior description?—I think, generally, to the upper class.

"4154. Not to the lower?—Perhaps not to the lower; they do not much think of it.

"4155. Does the potail appoint the inferior officers, or are they elected by the natives?—I had not an opportunity of knowing that, from seeing any village newly created, but the impression on my mind is that they were. In most parts villages appear to be divided into six, eight, ten, or twenty original shares; those were probably the original proprietors of the whole land; these divisions have become minutely subdivided, the entire shares being still recognized, and are called after the names of the original proprietors. Those proprietors probably appointed the village officers, such as the carpenter and blacksmith, and other village officers known to exist in every village. In India they have a curious mode of retaining the knowledge of the limits of villages, by apportioning lands for domestic officers on the borders of the village, beyond the ordinary course of cultivation. This being the case in all villages, it is very easy to recognize them, for each man knows which is his particular field."—Lords, 18th May 1830.

Now, let us inquire what are the advantages to be derived from upsetting the whole system of policy by which India has been hitherto so safely and so beneficially governed. Mr. Crawfurd, and the herd who follow like a pack whatever their leader tells them, says, "Oh, look what the free-trader has done! He has introduced lac dye into England since 1814; (for a refutation of this, *vide* chapter

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on Free Trade ;) and since the throwing open of the trade, he cultivated one article to an immense extent—indigo."—It is almost a pity to demolish this hobby.

Even if it were true that we are indebted to the free-trader and settler for indigo, it would rather make for, than against, the Company, by shewing that the restrictions which state expediency and humanity impose are not of so rigorous a nature as to impede commerce; but, waiving that point, I ask Mr. Crawfurd why he forgot to tell his constituents that indigo has no tax imposed on it, but that East-India sugar has not only a heavy duty, but 12*s.* a cwt. more laid on it than on West-India sugar? When Mr. C. boasted of the rapid extent of sugar cultivation at the Mauritius, why did he forget to state, that it was consequent on the reduction of the duty from the East-India rate to the West-India rate ?* Why did he omit to state with Mr. Harris, that the same facilities existed for the cultivation of sugar as for that of indigo? And, in fine, why has he not stated whether the supply has not been greatly in excess of the demand, and that many thousand chests of indigo are now rotting in the London stores for want of a purchaser? And now as to the merit of the introduction of indigo being due to the free-trader since 1814. Edmond Terrey, chaplain to Sir Thomas Rowe, published a work in 1655 (after spending with his master upwards of two years at the court of the Great Mogul), in which he states: "the most staple commodities of the empire are indico and cotton-wool;" and in a manifest of the cargoes of the ships 'Welcome,' 'Christopher,' and 'Allome,' in 1655, it is noted that there were on board, among other

* The author was at this island before, and subsequent to, the reduced duty; the change almost immediately caused by the measure was truly wonderful.

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articles enumerated, "seventy bales of Agra indico, seventy bales of Cirques indico," &c. &c.

Thus we see that, nearly two hundred years ago, indigo was a staple commodity of India; unfortunately I have not the papers before me to shew that the first Europeans by whom its cultivation and manufacture were set on foot were gentlemen in the Company's service; but I have beside me a letter from Mr. Jacob, an indigo factor now residing in Jessore, which contains the following passage, and demonstrates what indeed the writer admits, that "indigo factories were principally established by commercial residents and civil surgeons" in the Company's service:—

"I shall anticipate the prompt admission of the fact, that indigo factories *were principally established by commercial residents and civil surgeons*, and in support of this position, I shall quote the large proportion of the Jessore factories formerly possessed, as far back at least as I can recollect, by Mr. Williams, commercial resident at Comercolly, and Mr. Barnes, assistant surgeon at Jessore; by the commercial resident of Santipore, in the Hoogly and Nuddea district; by Mr. Droz, commercial resident at Cossimbazar; and the Honourable Mr. Ramsay, ditto at Jungypore and in Moorshedabad. Mr. Ballard, assistant surgeon of Rampore, Bauleah, had a great portion of Rajeshahye. Mr. Lamb, ditto of Malda. I think I recollect the medical man of Shahabad, or Arrah, extensively engaged in indigo. In Chuprah districts, Mr. Middleton, the resident at Revel Gunge, swayed the indigo concerns. At Buxar, Mr. Thomas Toone, a civilian, son of the general in command of the invalid jaghire was a, if not the, principal planter. In Ghazeepore and Azimghur, first Mr. Ryder, and afterwards Mr. Crommelin and Mr. Sweetland, commercial residents, had a great portion of those districts. In Benares, Mr. Yeld, civil surgeon. In Mirzapore, Mr. Turnbull, ditto. Further up the river I shall not proceed, my reminiscence being scorched by an approach to the infernal regions of the Doab."

But if the testimony of Mr. Jacob be not considered conclusive, perhaps an examination of the quantity of indigo imported into Great Britain from India previous to the end of the last century, up to the commencement of the throw-

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ing open the trade, and subsequently to it, may be. A document has been laid before Parliament to this effect; I have only beside me an extract from it, which is as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1796.......... | lbs. 3,898,157 | 1817.......... | lbs. 4,964,843 |
| 1798.............. | 3,862,188 | 1819.............. | 3,688,694 |
| 1805.............. | 4,608,871 | 1820.............. | 4,922,750 |
| 1807.............. | 5,323,147 | 1821.............. | 3,935,833 |
| 1808.............. | 5,216,040 | 1822.............. | 2,484,356 |
| 1810.............. | 5,077,906 | 1827.............. | 5,284,998 |
| 1811.............. | 4,382,642 | | |

So then it appears that the quantity of indigo imported into England was as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1796 and 1798 .................. | lbs. 7,750,345 |
| 1821 and 1822 ...................... | 6,420,189 |
| Decrease ........ | lbs. 1,330,156 |

And in 1807 the quantity was greater than in 1827. Let us hear no more boasting about the free-trader and indigo: there are no fortunes now made by it, in India or in England; hundreds of plantations may be bought any day for one-third of the money that has been paid for them; and as it concerns the peasantry of India, the quotation of a speech which Bishop Heber gives is perhaps too true:—

"The indigo is a fine thing to put money in the purse of the baboo (gentleman), but we poor people do not want to see it. It raises the price of rice and the rent of land."—Remark of a small cultivator to Bishop Heber on the Ganges.

With respect to India cotton, Mr. Crawfurd contends that the only thing requisite for its improvement is colonization. His evidence, however, is so confused, it is difficult to make 'head or tail of it': I place two passages parallel for illustration.

| | |
|---|---|
| "Is the cotton of Dacca long or short?—*A.* I suppose *short-stapled cotton.*" | "Is it or is it not notorious, that the finest muslins of India were made from Dacca cotton?—Yes; the cotton of Dacca appears to be grown within twenty miles of the sea, I therefore imagine it may be *long-stapled fine cotton.*" |

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At one moment colonization is necessary to grow fine cotton in India, it can *never be grown without it;* then it is admitted that the Dacca cotton is already the finest in the world without colonization; anon Mr. Crawfurd learns that Dacca cotton is *short-stapled*, and he contends that colonization is requisite to produce the *long-staple*, which English machinery requires; yet *presto*, he finds out that Dacca cotton is really 'long-stapled' cotton, though not the result of colonization!

The fact is, cotton is a plant which delights in certain soils and climates, the shrubby species flourishing best in a dry sandy clay near the sea-shore; the creeper cotton, which is of very fine quality, preferring the sea-shore, and a reddish earthy soil which is to be found along the eastern coast of Africa;* and the gigantic tree with its ponderous silky pods, attaining a greater size and beauty in tropical climes, but on mountains or table-land elevated much above the level of the sea.† Colonization has, therefore, as little to do with cotton as it has with indigo; and with respect to coffee, the berry, it is well known, has its favourite habitudes as well as tea or cotton. I have drunk coffee in very many different parts of the world on the spot where it has been grown, and in no two places have I ever found its taste alike; the climate or soil of Bengal is not suited to the production of coffee, and if all the skill and capital of Europe were transported thither, it would not change nature; but if the home Government can be shamed into something like decent treatment of the natives of India, and abstain from charging on Eastern coffee from one hun-

* Some of the finest of this species I found at De la Goa Bay, and at Sofala, the Ophir of Solomon.

† The finest trees of this kind which I have seen were on the table-land of Ceylon, about 3,000 feet above the level of the sea, particularly at Taldeina, Badulla, and Fort Mc Dowell. On the table-land of Madagascar, I have also seen them in great perfection.

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dred to nearly four hundred per cent.,* they will do more to improve its culture and extend its consumption, than by sanctioning any visionary attempts at improving the one or augmenting the other by colonization.

And with regard to sugar, let the members of a British Parliament peruse the petition I have given in the preceding part of this chapter; they will find the true reason for the depressed state of the sugar trade in India, as compared with other countries; and on reading the just complaints of the natives at their bar, when crying for redress, they ought to blush at the paltry, pettifogging system of legislation that has been adopted towards India, which is indeed an indelible disgrace to England; "a nation of shopkeepers," say the Hindoos, who think of nothing but their own immediate advantage, and who would force their goods on India, while draining them of their wealth, without giving the slightest equivalent in return! What are the West-India Islands in comparison with the Anglo-Eastern Empire? If swallowed up by an earthquake, they would not me missed out of one corner of Hindostan! How much longer will those members of Parliament who really have the interest of the Hindoos at heart, suffer themselves to be gulled by West-India agents telling them that the East and West-India interests are identified? How has it been shewn? The moment there has been a talk of reducing the duty on any article (sugar or coffee) of East-India produce, which comes in competition with West-India produce, a shout is instantly raised for a reduction of duty on the West-India article, not to a level with that imported from a far distant hemisphere, but to one-third less! These are reciprocal interests with a vengeance! Instead of being even on an equality in point

* At present, the coffee of Malabar or Ceylon, British possessions, pays as much duty as Mocha coffee, the finest in the world.

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of duty, the balance absolutely ought to be in favour of the East Indian article.

It has now been shewn that the idea of colonization being necessary for the improved production of sugar,* coffee, or cotton,† is absurd; the first is manufactured at Benares, in a bright, large, and sparkling grain, without any aid from European skill‡ or capital, and is exported in shiploads to France, where it is preferred for its freedom from acidity for pastry, preserving fruits, and for all sorts of confectionery; this is sufficient to shew that colonization is not the desideratum for its augmented importation into England. Coffee is grown at Ceylon and Malabar of so fine a quality as scarcely to be known from Mocha, without a European having ever seen it, until prepared for roasting; the moist climate of Bengal is not well suited for tobacco; that of Guzerat is excellent;§ but

* Mr. Baber says, that "experiments for the cultivation of sugar have been made in Amgerkandy plantation in Malabar, by the late Mr. Brown, and also by another European of the name of Skelton, at Mangalore, but both abandoned it." (Lords 3304.) The reason is obvious. If it could be imported into this country at a profit, after paying the heavy duty, there are plenty of steam engines in Calcutta which would be put in immediate requisition. One or two engines have been lying in the godown of Messrs. Mackintosh and Co. at Calcutta for several years, without a purchaser or employer

† Mr. R. Davidson, an old, experienced, and intelligent indigo planter, admits that "it is as open to the English speculator to make advances to the ryots for the delivery of cotton, as it is for the English speculator to make advances to the ryots for the delivery of indigo, and to have a cotton manufactory instead of an indigo manufactory." (Lords 3726.) In another part Mr. Davidson says, "the alluvial lands of the Mississippi produce cotton almost without labour, which comes of course into competition with India cotton." 3719.

‡ Mr. Rickards says, that exclusive of the indigo produced in Oude, at least 20,000 chests are actually grown and manufactured by natives alone, and that some of the specimens manufactured by natives are as fine as the most beautiful products of the European factories." 2815.

§ Mr. Ritchie, a Bombay merchant, was asked by the Commons Committee (7th March 1831), "Of what quality is the Guzerat tobacco?—Very fine." Mr. R. states it to be a very delicate plant; different

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"De gustibus non est disputandum!"

And so long as the tobacco of Virginia or Havannah is preferred by the public, it will be difficult to change the taste. The documents before Parliament prove that at the present moment, as well as during the past years, no pains or reasonable expense have been spared by the home and Indian authorities,* to improve the culture of the staples of Hindostan. Witney's saw gins have been procured from America, together with every variety of tobacco and cotton seed; premiums and rewards have been offered; Italians have been sent to India for the benefit of the silk manufacture; West-India sugar-planters have changed hemispheres at the Company's expense for a similar purpose; but all these will fail to contend against climate and soil† in some articles, and against prohibitory duties in England on others.

different from the tobacco of North America; approaches more to the Brazil, and some of it sold higher than any American tobacco in the English market; it brought *6d.* per lb. in bond, when the best American was *5d.*; in Bombay 38 lbs. cost three or three and a half rupees. In another place he adds, "the tobacco lands of Guzerat that I saw under cultivation, were the cleanest and best farmed land I ever saw." 1440.

* Mr. Ritchie positively declares that capitalists at Bombay are not deterred by any steps taken by the Company's government from farming lands; on the contrary, he observes, very great encouragement has been given to individuals, to Dr. Scott and others; but the mercantile houses are a good deal deterred by the want of success of three or four establishments. Even the statement of Mr. Crawfurd, that £1,680,000 of Indian capital is expended by British-born subjects on the cultivation and manufacture of indigo, demonstrates that every reasonable encouragement has been given by the Company's Government, for if, as asserted, the revenue from the land be more readily raised by the extended culture of indigo, it stands to reason that the same would be the case with sugar or any other tropical production; while under the system of engaging with the ryot for so many bundles of indigo, or so many sugar-canes, or so much uncleaned cotton, the European manufacturer is saved the necessity of sinking a large capital in the purchase of land.

† A peculiar instance of the effects of soil on the vegetable kingdom is observable at the Seychelle islands, where on one only (Praslin) the

With respect to the introduction of British capital into India, it is a perfect farce;*—has one shilling of British money ever been exported to India, except by the Company?† It is unnecessary to answer the question: the only capital introduced into the country used to be by the Americans,‡ who brought Spanish dollars in exchange for Eastern goods; that trade is now done up. There is, however, some bullion exported from China to Bengal, in return for the opium transmitted thither; but if the desires of Mr. Rickards and Mr. Crawfurd be gratified, even that resource to India will be denied, and the channel will be turned to England, who, like the Mæelstroom whirlpool, would swallow up every thing, but give forth nothing that was of the slightest value.§

the *coco-de-mer* will flourish, although the other isles are within musket-shot distance, and present apparently no difference in their physical appearance; the fine Seychelle cotton, on the contrary, grows best on Mahé isle. Another illustration is that of the vine at Constantia, Cape of Good Hope, and the peculiar flavour which the different vineyards at Bordeaux give to different wines; the cinnamon grown in the gardens near Colombo is of a different flavour to that brought from Kandy; the currants of Zante are far preferable to those of the other volcanic contiguous group; but to come nearer home, the hops of Kent, the apples of Devonshire, the oats of Scotland, and the potatoes of Ireland, all bear a marked variety and characteristic from the earth in which they grow.

* Mr. Davidson admits that a great portion of the indigo works carried on is by means of native capital; indeed he might have added, that the mercantile houses of all India are, in the aggregate, supported by native capital. Mr. Ritchie says, "we have more money than we know what to do with generally at Bombay." (Commons 1508.) The same is the case at Madras and Bengal: yet the cry is, send out English capital to India, and this too, at a moment when many persons are looking for a more profitable investment of their money in England than in India!

† Colonel Galloway estimates the quantity of bullion remitted by the Company to India from 1700 to 1793 at £42,680,850. Now the Company are obliged to drain India of bullion for remittance to England!

‡ For instance, from 1795 to 1805, as Mr. Robert Grant says, the Americans imported into India bullion to the amount of £26,720,470.

§ Let us suppose, for instance, that the wishes of Mr. Crawfurd, Mr. Rickards, and Mr. Whitmore, were carried into effect for the entire

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Baffled, perhaps, on this point, the enemies of the Company say, "colonization will improve the natives." Let those who think so, read the evidence before Parliament, and they will find it confirmatory of the statement of Sir Henry Strachey: "In Calcutta, I have reason to believe that the morals of the people are worse, in spite of the severity of the police and of the English laws."* If this will not satisfy an incredulous person, let him visit the Loll bazaar, or the Chitpoor road in Calcutta, and observe the drunkenness and vice which is practised by those Hindoos who are influenced by the example of the colonization of the presidencies.† It is indeed but too true, that the example of the lower class of Europeans has tended much to demoralize the inhabitants of the British possessions wherever they have come much in contact with them.

entire supplanting of the Hindoo weavers, and reducing all that class of artizans to the condition of agriculturists, what would be the result?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Population.......................... | 100,000,000 | |
| Annual average of longcloth, for each individual twenty yards .......... | 2,000,000,000 | yards. |
| At the average price of 6*d*. per yard .... | 12,000,000,000 | pence. |
| Converted into shillings .............. | 1,000,000,000 | shillings. |
| Ditto into ........................ | £50,000,000 | sterling. |

Where would the Hindoos procure fifty millions sterling to pay for calico? To be sure the advocates of the Lancashire people would not care; this, however, is a specimen of so called 'liberal principles.'

* In the event of colonization being permitted, what check would there be to runaway and emancipated convicts finding their way from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land to India? Several of this class of persons do so now, and prove serious nuisances; but when an unrestricted admission of Europeans is permitted, hundreds will seek an asylum in Hindostan, as preferable to the abode to which their crimes had condemned them; when, therefore, so much has been said relative to the expense which a low European would be at in finding his way to India, it should be recollected that he may proceed from New South Wales not only for nothing, but often be paid for going the voyage.

† A recent publication gives a list of the trades, &c. at Calcutta, as follows:—

3. Circu-

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This is particularly visible in the natives of the sea-coast provinces of Ceylon, and the hilly tracts of the interior, where there are few Europeans but the government functionaries; in the former the inhabitants are many of them incorrigible drunkards, and the criminal calendar of the circuit shews their proneness to crime; murders, robberies, ear-slitting, and amputation of the limbs, for the sake of the rings and bangles with which they are adorned, being unfortunately too prevalent; but in the Kandian districts, crimes are of unfrequent occurrence. This fact with respect to India, did not escape the acute vision of the amiable Heber; in speaking of the Rajpoots he says, "some effects of a favourable nature have been produced among them by the intercourse which they have had with the English; the specimens of our nation which they have heretofore seen, have on the whole been very favourable;*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | Circulating libraries. | 4 | Jewellers. |
| 6 | Booksellers and stationers. | 3 | Watchmakers. |
| 3 | Music-sellers. | 10 | General shopkeepers. |
| 10 | Artists. | 11 | Milliners. |
| 5 | Surgeon-apothecaries. | 9 | Tailors. |
| 2 | Do. dentists. | 3 | Hair-dressers. |
| 5 | Chemists and druggists. | 7 | Boot and shoe-makers. |
| 6 | Ship-builders. | 5 | Provisioners. |
| 16 | Male seminaries. | 8 | General commission agents. |
| 17 | Female do. | 3 | French merchants. |
| 4 | Boarding-houses. | 9 | Armenian do. |
| 3 | Hotels. | 5 | Greek do. |
| 6 | Taverns. | 11 | Mogul do. |
| 4 | Banks. | 8 | Jew do. |
| 33 | Mercantile houses. | 29 | Principal Hindoostan bankers. |
| 10 | House-builders. | 13 | Do Bengallee do. |
| 6 | Coach-makers. | 15 | Marine insurance societies. |
| 7 | Cabinet-makers. | 3 | River do. officers. |
| 5 | Carvers and gilders. | 5 | Life do. societies. |

This is a fair specimen of the gradual 'colonization' which is now going on at the presidencies, and a complete refutation of Mr. Rickards' statement. With reference to the European tailors above mentioned, it must be observed, that of native tailors, *dirzees*, it is computed that 10,000 come into Calcutta every morning!

* Mr. Holt Mackenzie says, "the habits of the Hindoos are still comparatively simple."—Evidence before Parliament, 1832.

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none of the king's regiments have yet been sent here, and few Europeans of any description except officers; they have therefore seen little of the drunkenness, and violence of temper, which has made the natives of our own provinces at once fear and despise a Feringee soldier; and they still therefore admire us,* and wonder at the difference of wisdom, morals and policy, which they perceive between us and them." Heber, p. 71.

Neither has the demoralization of the people of India, proceeding from the example of open vice, escaped the penetration of the philanthropic Rammohun Roy, who thus remarks in his able replies to the questions of the Board of Control:—

"From a careful survey and observation of the people and inhabitants of various parts of the country, and in every condition of life, I am of opinion that the peasants or villagers who reside away from large towns and head stations and courts of law, are as innocent, temperate, and moral in their conduct as the people of any country whatsoever; and the farther I proceed towards the north and west, the greater the honesty, and simplicity, and independence of character I meet with. The virtues of this class, however, rest at present chiefly on their primitive simplicity, and a strong religious feeling, which leads them to expect reward or punishment for their good or bad conduct, not only in the next world, but, like the ancient Jews, also in this; 2d, the inha-

* Mr. Chaplin, in his evidence before the Lords, March 30, 1830, says, "2783. I am not quite sure that the admixture of Europeans of the middling or lower order with the natives, would have a tendency to create in them an increased sense of the advantages of living under the English government. I should be very much afraid that the respect and reverence the natives now have for the English, would rather be diminished than increased by mixing with Europeans of the middling or lower classes.—2787. A free unrestricted resort of Europeans would at no distant period lead to the total overthrow of our government.—2785. I am perfectly sure that native prejudices would be outraged if the lower classes of Europeans came much in contact with the natives, and that it would produce hostility to our government, and disaffection generally." Mr. Ritchie, a free merchant at Bombay, says, that "the Company's authorities having the power to send persons away, most certainly affords them the means of supporting their authority in the country." He was asked, "*Q.* Would you think it advisable that that power should be withdrawn from the Company?"—"*A.* Certainly not. 1479."

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bitants of the cities, towns, or stations who have much intercourse with persons employed about the courts of law, by zemindars, &c., and with foreigners and others in a different state of civilization, generally imbibe their habits and opinions; hence their religious opinions are shaken without any other principles being implanted to supply their place; consequently a great proportion of these are far inferior in point of character to the former class, and are very often even made tools of in the nefarious work of perjury and forgery. 3d. A third class consists of persons who are in the employ of landholders (zemindars), or dependent for subsistence on the courts of law, as attorneys' clerks, &c., who must rely for a livelihood on their shrewdness, not having generally sufficient means to enter into commerce or business; these are, for the most part, still worse than the second class, more especially when they have no prospect of bettering their condition by the savings of honest industry, and no hope is held out to them of rising to honour or affluence by superior merit."

Probably these considerations will be despised, and colonization permitted; but then, English laws, as Rammohun Roy says, and English police, must be introduced all over India; it is, however, not to be forgotten what has been repeatedly attested before Parliament, that the simplest customs and minutest acts of the Hindoo have their origin in his religious creed. To introduce therefore English laws, would be a monstrous violation of the promises held forth by the British government, of allowing perfect freedom of present institutions, and it would be a direct annihilation of his moral creed; this point, however, will be more fully seen in the "Judicial" chapter. * It may, however, be said, "if we do introduce

* The evidence of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone before the Lords' Committee in 1830, is conclusive with respect to the evils which the natives would suffer from the projects of colonization now on the *tapis*. This enlightened individual says, "I think that any unrestricted residence of Europeans in India would be productive of more harm than good."

2382. *Q.* Would not a greater resort of Europeans to the country tend to keep down the native population, and to prevent the natives rising to the possession of those offices in which you think it would be desirable to place them?—*A.* I think it certainly would. If Europeans were

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our vices among the Hindoos, and suppress their laws, yet we shall make them compensation by introducing among them the arts of civilized life;" but let us pause and enquire whether the Hindoos, although so long bowed down by despotism, are such an uncivilized race, that they would profit by receiving in exchange for a knowledge of the arts of life a familiarity with European crimes, an entanglement in the chicanery and extravagance of English jurisprudence, and a loss of their landed property. That the latter would be the probable result of colonization, has

were allowed to go without restraint to India, I think many would go at first, some without capital, and others on speculations which would soon reduce them to poverty; that from the compassion of their countrymen in India, and their greater fitness for office, they would be introduced into employments to which we have been of late endeavouring to introduce the natives; and that if they formed friendships with the Europeans in power, which they have greater means of doing than the natives, they would get advantages in other ways.—*Q.* So that the elevation of the native character appears to be inconsistent with the more general resort of Europeans to the country? *A.* Inconsistent with the unrestricted resort.—*Q.* In your opinion, would it be necessary to subject the Europeans residing in India to restrictions as well as to impose restrictions on their resort thither?—*A.* I do not know that any of the present restrictions could be dispensed with. It would be sufficient if the Government had the power of sending them out of the country, and of sending them from one district to another, in case of their being guilty of any oppression, or creating any great disturbance in any particular district, as has happened sometimes. I am always supposing they are not so numerous as to form a very considerable community in India. Such a community would be very unruly, and very difficult to manage, on the part of a government which must be always arbitrary in its character. If there were a great body of discontented colonists, such as at the Cape, for instance, I think their clamours would probably weaken the government very much with the natives. Their disagreements with the natives would also be dangerous; and I think there would be a great increase of the feeling which there is now only among the lower orders of Europeans in India, of contempt and dislike for blacks. There would be a more marked distinction between blacks and whites, as there is in all regular colonies.—*Q.* Where differences arise between the Europeans residing in India and natives, by what court would they be tried in the provinces?—*A.* At present, if the differences are of small consequence, they would be tried by the local court; but if of great consequence, the cause would go to the Supreme Court at the Presidency.—*Q.* Would a poor native have the power of prosecuting an European in the Supreme Courts?—*A.* No, a poor native would not. The only chance would be the Government taking up the prosecution, if it were a serious matter.



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been demonstrated. Mr. Chaplin truly says, "If Europeans were allowed to settle in the interior, I have no doubt it would lead ultimately to the stripping the natives of their land, depriving them of every office or employment, however subordinate, and ultimately reduce them to the most degraded state of a conquered people." (Lords 2793.)

This is precisely the tenor of Mr. Elphinstone's, Mr. Baber's, (Mr. Rickards' !) and every individual who knows the condition of India, and is capable of expressing an unbiassed opinion. With respect to the uncivilized state of the natives, an answer will be found in the following extract from Bishop Heber's writings, and in a passage of Mr. Rickards' evidence:—

"To say that the Hindoos or Mussulmans are deficient in any essential feature of a civilized people, is an assertion which I can scarcely suppose to be made by any who have lived with them; their manners are, at least, as pleasing and courteous as those in the corresponding stations of life among ourselves; their houses are larger, and, according to their wants and climate, to the full as convenient as ours; their architecture is at least as elegant, and though the worthy Scotch divines may doubtless wish their labourers to be clad in hodden gray, and their gentry and merchants to wear powder and mottled stockings, like worthy Mr. —— and the other elders of his kirk-session, I really do not think that they would gain either in cleanliness, elegance, or comfort, by exchanging a white cotton robe for the completest suits of dittos. Nor is it true that in the mechanic arts they are inferior to the general run of European nations; where they fall short of us, which is chiefly in agricultural implements and the mechanics of common life, they are not, so far as I have understood of Italy and the South of France, surpassed in any great degree by the people of those countries. Their goldsmiths and weavers produce as beautiful fabrics as our own, and it is so far from true that they are obstinately wedded to their old patterns, that they shew an anxiety to imitate our models, and do imitate them very successfully. The ships built by native artists at Bombay, are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool; the carriages and gigs which they supply at Calcutta are as handsome, though not as durable, as those of Long Acre. In the little town of

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Monghyr, 300 miles from Calcutta, I had pistols, double-barrelled guns, and different pieces of cabinet-work, brought down to my boat for sale, which in outward form (for I know no further) nobody but perhaps Mr. —— could detect to be of Hindoo origin; and at Delhi, in the shop of a wealthy native jeweller, I found brooches, ear-rings, snuff-boxes, &c. of the latest models (so far as I am a judge), and ornamented with French devices and mottos."*

The testimony of Mr. Rickards before the Commons (19th July 1831) is even more striking than Bishop Heber's. He shews that even the English language is acquired by the natives without any aid from Europeans, whom he terms "*overbearing conquerors.*"

"One of the greatest improvements, however, which the mind of man is susceptible of, has been made by natives from their own exclusive exertions. Their acquirement of knowledge, and particularly of the English language and English literature, of which there are many examples in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay at the present moment, is quite astonishing. It may even be questioned whether so great a progress in the attainment of knowledge has ever been made under like circumstances in any of the countries of Europe."

2808. Is not that limited to those who have had particular intercourse with Europeans?—The examples to which I allude, are among natives that have kept up an uninterrupted intercourse certainly with Europeans, from residing at the different presidencies of India; but the exertions of those with whom I am acquainted, have been altogether independent of European assistance, the natives to whom I allude being perfectly self-taught. I would beg leave here to add, that if it be meant to imply, as some of the most distinguished literary authorities in this country have asserted, that the natives of India are incapable of improvement, I must protest against the doctrine, as being, in my humble opinion, an unjust and libellous judgment passed on the whole community. We have at this moment an illustrious example in this country of what native Indians can attain by their own unaided exertions. Let it also be recollected, that in many branches of art their skill is absolutely unrivalled. Several of their fabrics, such as muslins, shawls, embroidered silks, handkerchiefs, &c., together with pieces of workmanship in gold, silver, and ivory, have never yet been equalled by

* Bishop Heber's Journal, vol. ii. p. 382.



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British artists. Their architecture, though peculiar, is of a superior order, and in the construction of great public buildings they have exerted powers of moving and elevating large masses which are unknown to European architects. Agriculture also made its first progress, and attained considerable perfection in the East, which in this respect, set the example to Europe. In these, and many other arts connected with the comforts and conveniences of life, the natives of India have made great progress in some, and attained perfection in others, without being in the smallest degree indebted to European patterns or example. I do not mean to say that their progress or advancement has been a hundredth part so great or so rapid as that of Europeans in the arts of life generally, but I do not think it fair to compare their present backward state with the advancement made by Europeans, considering the very different circumstances in which both are respectively placed. The nature of the governments under which the Indians have languished for so many centuries is sufficient to account for their stationary state; and no argument can hence be drawn as to their natural incapacity. Many persons, I apprehend, who now contend for the freest introduction of Europeans into India, to operate as a stimulus to native improvement, seem to forget the vast difference of character existing in the two parties; that, consequently, to overrun India with Europeans before a better system of protection shall have been provided, would be to mingle a race of *overbearing conquerors* with submissive slaves, and that oppression and injustice would be the inevitable result.

2809. Can you state any improvements which have been introduced by the governments of India?—The governments of India at each of the presidencies have, very much to their credit, encouraged the improvement of the natives by patronizing and supporting institutions for learning and the acquirement of knowledge. They have also attempted to introduce improvements in agriculture and in manufactures.

Such truths atone for a volume of intemperate diatribes. The conduct of Russia has been proposed for imitation to England; it is hardly to be supposed that the plan of the Russian military colonies are the model held out for the British Government to act on! It is true that Russia holds dominion over the people of sixty distinct nations; that for three centuries she has been making fresh conquests;* her

* In 1806 the whole population of Russia amounted to 41,252,000 persons, and the yearly excess of births over deaths, as published by the

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dominions spread over Astrachan, Siberia, the Crimea, Georgia, the Mahomedan provinces acquired from Persia, the territories conquered from Turkey and various other places; Russians are found from Wologda and Woronesch to Kamschatka and Chinese Tartary; under her sovereignty are found Moldavians, Calmucks, Armenians, Greeks, Baskires, Servians, Wallachians, Turks, Buriats, Hindoos, French, Tartars, Germans (the latter to the number of half a million), &c.; but in reality the policy adopted by Russia is that which the East-India Company have so long pursued; it is thus described by Malte Brun:—

"Le Gouvernment Russie respecté avec une politique eclairée, tous les droits acquis, tous les privileges de provinces, de villes, de classes; les seuls changemens que le peuple conquis épreuvent sont en général favorable à la liberté personelles, industrielle, et religieuse."

In addition to this the Company have had to consider the peculiar character of the Hindoos, jealous of their religious institutions, though weakened from the long bondage in which they have been held for eight centuries by the Mussulmans; whatever, therefore, be the decision of Parliament, I would respectfully address to the constituted authorities of India, with reference to the great problem which they are now solving, in endeavouring to raise a vast nation of the dark coloured races of men to a state of political independence equal to that of their European brethren, I would, I repeat, address them in the language of George Washington when bidding a political adieu to the Americans:—

"Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles,

the Greek Synod, was 542,701. Since that period Finland, Bialystock, the Caucasus provinces, Poland, and a part of the Turkish dominions have been added to the empire, making the present population upwards of 60,000,000.

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however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that *time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government*, as of other human institutions;—that *experience is the surest standard*,* by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that *facility in changes upon the credit of a mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion;* and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interest, in so extensive a country, *a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable.* Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property."

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*United States,*
*Sept.* 17*th*, 1796.

* The Right Honourable Robert Grant justly remarks:—"There can be no sounder, no safer tests of the goodness of a system than the practical advantages which it produces, and its susceptibility of gradual improvement. Where these are found together, *as in the Indian constitution they are incontrovertibly found together*, prejudice against any material change of principle becomes reason, and the *speculative innovator*, however specious his propositions, is not to be derided as a theorist, but *repulsed as an enemy!*"—*Expediency Maintained*, p. 167.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

THE LANDED REVENUE OF INDIA;—MODE OF ASSESSMENT;—NUMBER OF VILLAGES, HOUSES, SQUARE MILES, AND INHABITANTS;—PROPORTION OF REVENUE TO EACH;—AREA, POPULATION, REVENUE, DEBT OF INDIA, COMPARED WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND AMERICA;—MR. RICKARDS' DESCRIPTION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE METAYER SYSTEM IN ITALY REFUTED.

THE agriculturists and artizans of India are called on to support a home and foreign government, a standing army of two hundred thousand men, and to supply annually (what can scarcely be considered in any other light than tribute) four million sterling to the governing country. Unless England withdraw her protection from India, and leave its inhabitants once more a prey to rapacious neighbouring enemies, or to internal discord, a revenue must be drawn, which it is impossible, under the present state of the world, to reduce in amount; the question therefore is, how it can be most easily and cheaply collected, without unnecessarily pressing on the industry or resources of the people?—whether, as in Great Britain, by means of taxing necessaries* and luxuries of life, stinting the poor of their food, and the middling classes of their comforts?—by heavy imposts on articles of merchandize, which, while checking legitimate commerce,† requires an immense es-

* Bacon, beer, butter, eggs, corn, cheese, peas, cucumbers, fruit, &c. &c. are all subject to heavy duties on importation, and beef, lamb, mutton, pork, sheep, and swine are prohibited to be imported into this country, by 6 Geo. IV. c. 117.

† By the accounts laid before the Finance Committee of Parliament it appears, that the revenue from the custom duties is collected in England

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tablishment for its protection, and raises up a host of spies and informers, and contemners of the law throughout the country: and in addition to the foregoing, by taxes on industry,* which are fatally destructive of that elastic principle of man in his social state, whereby he is enabled to repair the misfortunes which untoward events may have created? Or, as in India, by a system of taxation, which fairly, lightly, and uninquisitorially presses on every individual; which rises and falls with general, not partial prosperity; which makes it the paramount benefit of the Government to preserve peace, foreign and domestic; to augment, by every possible means, the quantity and quality of territorial produce; to provide easy, cheap, and expeditious transit by land and water, to the most profitable markets; and thus, influenced by fixed and comprehensive principles of universal utility, most beneficently unites the governed and the governing by the least dissoluble ties of mutual self-interest? The many advantages of the latter procedure over the former is apparent; in an essentially agricultural country like India the greater part of taxation must ultimately fall upon the rent of land, it is therefore highly advantageous that the source whence the income of the state is derived should be as direct as possible. The economists of France, and I believe many

England on five hundred and sixty-six different articles! of these, five hundred and ten articles produced only £20,903 revenue, the cost of collecting which did not fall short of half a million sterling. Such is the admirable system of English customs, which theorists propose for adoption in India!!

* For instance, the tax on paper in England injures the makers of machinery, type-founders, ink-makers, printers, engravers, bookbinders, booksellers, stationers, paper-stainers, and many other trades: this destructive duty on paper varies from fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent.! The penalties are monstrous, and the laws relating thereto so confused, that no person almost can avoid unintentionally infracting them! This is a specimen of English legislation in matters of revenue: too many of similar instances could be pointed out.

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of their disciples in this country, assert that all taxation finally rests upon land: if this be even partially true, how much preferable is the Asiatic to the European mode of taxation; for, as Dr. Adam Smith justly remarks, "duties of custom and excise are contributed for the support of the state, rather in proportion to a man's humour than to his revenue; the hospitable paying more than their proper quota, and the parsimonious less, while those who reside out of the country, contribute nothing for the security of the government or state whence their revenue is derived."*

The opinions of this celebrated philosopher on the land revenue of India, will be better understood by the following quotations from his works:

"In Indostan and in several other governments of Asia, the revenue of the sovereign is almost altogether from a land tax or land rent, which rises or falls with the produce of the land. The great interest of the sovereign, therefore, is that his revenue is in such countries necessarily and immediately connected with the cultivation of the land, with the greatness of its produce, and with the value of its produce. But in order to render that produce both as great and as valuable as possible, it is necessary to procure to it as extensive a market as possible, and consequently to establish the freest, the easiest, and the least expensive communication between all the different parts of the country. But the revenue of the sovereign does not, in any part of Europe, arise chiefly from a land tax or land rent; in all the great kingdoms of Europe perhaps the greater part of it may ultimately depend upon the produce of the land, but that dependency is neither so immediate nor so evident. In Europe, therefore, the sovereign does not feel himself so directly called upon to promote the increase both in quantity and

* Ireland affords a remarkable illustration of this doctrine; an immense portion of the principal wealth of the island, the landed rental, is drawn out of the country, and contributes to swell the resources of England, while the consumption of custom and excise articles by the proprietors takes place also in England; had the taxation been fixed on the land, the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Abercorn, and other great landed proprietors would have been obliged to contribute their quota to the exigencies of the state, and the necessaries and comforts of life would have been the cheaper obtained by the bulk of the people, but as the case now stands the whole fiscal weight falls on the poor, *i. e.* the mass of the people; the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Abercorn, &c. pay nothing to Ireland.

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value of the produce of the land, or by maintaining good roads and canals, to provide the most extensive markets for the produce."—*Wealth of Nations*, book v. p. 104.

In another place, he thus argues on the 'equitable' system of land revenues:—

"The attention of the landlord is a particular and minute consideration of what is likely to be the most advantageous application of every inch of ground upon his estate. The principal attention of the sovereign ought to be to encourage, by every means in his power, the attention both of the landlord and the farmer, by allowing both to pursue their own interest in their own way, and according to their own judgment, by giving to both the most perfect security that they shall enjoy the full recompense of their own industry; and by procuring to both the most extensive market for every part of their produce, in consequence of establishing the easiest and safest communications both by land and by water, through every part of his own dominions, as well as the most unbounded freedom of exportation to the dominions of all other princes.

"If by such a system of administration a tax of this kind could be so managed as to give, not only no discouragement, but, on the contrary, some encouragement to the improvement of the land, it does not appear likely to occasion any other inconveniency to the landlord, except always the unavoidable one of being obliged to pay the tax. In all the variations of the state of society; in the improvement and in the declension of agriculture; in all those in the standard of the coin, a tax of this kind would, of its own accord, and without any attention of government, readily suit itself to the actual situation of things, and would be equally just and equitable in all those different changes."—*Wealth of Nations*, book v. p. 270.

Dr. Smith assigns a reason why land is a much more proper subject of direct taxation than "stock;" namely, because the ascertaining of the latter would be inquisitorial, its fluctuation more variable, and the proprietor of land is a citizen of the state, whereas "stock" is easily removeable. All who have observed the character of the Hindoos, are aware how much they dread any thing like an inquisition as to their private financial condition; many, indeed, possessed of considerable wealth have every appearance of poverty, while the jealousy with which they view an approach-

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ing knowledge of an European to their domestic habits, shews they have not entirely subdued their fears, that the present rulers of India would act like their predecessors in squeezing from their subjects the uttermost farthing, beyond what might be necessary to support life on the lowest possible scale of animal existence. To be sure, Mr. Rickards and the Westminster Reviewer for 1832 says, that such is the case; they assert that the Hindoos are as heavily taxed by the East-India Company, as they were by the Mahomedan government. To endeavour to prove this Mr. Rickards has written two immense volumes, but they present such a mass of contradictory testimony, and are so opposed to his evidence before Parliament, that it is difficult where to expose their absurdity most; his constant assertion is, that the Company "invariably proclaim the savage right to seize upon half the gross produce of the land as a tax;* thus treading in the steps of their unrighteous predecessors, the Mahomedans." This statement is incorrect in many particulars; *first*, as to the Government exacting *half* the gross produce:—under the permanent settlement there were three parties whose shares ran thus:—

The ryot or cultivator 50 per cent. of the produce of the land.
The zemindar or landlord 10 ditto ditto.
The sirkar or Government share 40 ditto ditto.

In Bombay it is less than the foregoing imaginary assessment, and according to the evidence of Mr. Elphinstone the revenue is still in the course of reduction: in Madras it is yet less than at either of the other settlements;—

| | |
|---|---|
| Gross produce | 100 |
| Government Assessment by survey | 45 |
| Twenty-five per cent. deducted | 11¼ |
| Sirkar or Government share | 33¾ |

* Rickards' India, vol. i. p. 285.

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If consideration be had to the vast quantity of waste land brought into cultivation under the operation of the permanent settlement, and the immense amount of land held rent-free,* I am rather under than above the mark in stating, that even the nominal Government revenue from the land throughout all India is not one-fourth, much less one-half of the produce of the soil!

Now, not only is Mr. Rickards incorrect with respect to "the Company's grand source of oppression, the enormous amount of the land-tax, upwards of fifty per cent.,"† but he has also grossly (I had almost said intentionally) erred in asserting that the Hindoos are as heavily taxed by the Company as they were by the Mahomedans; I say intentionally, for Mr. Rickards repeatedly shews that there was no limit to Mahomedan taxation but what their wretched subjects could bear without being deprived of life; he proves, indeed, that the Mussulmans did not destroy the bees, for that would have left them no honey for the ensuing year, but they took every particle of honey beyond what was immediately necessary to the end in view—reproduction;‡ when

* In the ceded and conquered provinces of the Doab, the rent-free lands amount to 44,95,177 beegahs. In the lower provinces of Bengal exclusive of Cuttack, Lord Teignmouth stated the rent-free lands to be in amount according to investigation, 83,75,942 beegahs. Indeed in some districts the lands held rent-free are more than one-half in quantity than those paying revenue to Government. Mr. Colebrooke gives the following estimate of some pergunnahs:—

| | Free Lands. | Cultivated. |
|---|---|---|
| In Sherefœbad and Tajpur..beegahs | 298,275 | 524,909 |
| In other places .................. | 143,042 | 301,131 |
| Total........ beegahs | 441,317 | 826,040 |

With regard to Bombay Mr. Elphinstone says, "a considerable extent of land is held rent-free as jaghire for military and other services; some with a quit rent so light that it almost partakes of that nature, and some is entirely exempt from all payment of revenue; and nothing was to be levied on new land brought into cultivation."—Lords' Report, March 25, 1830.

† Vol. i. p. 590.

‡ Mr. R. quotes (p. 281) an extract from the Hedaya, Book ix. chap. 7, to shew that "it is lawful to take the whole of the persons and

referring therefore (in the very same page in which he charges the Company with adopting all but "the sanguinary creed of the Mahomedans in Bengal") to Colonel Galloway's able work on the "Law and Constitution of India," he might in common justice to that corporation whom he so long served, and by whose very existence he was maintained, he might, I repeat, have quoted the numerous other taxes, besides half the gross produce of the soil, which the Mahomedans levied in Bengal, and indeed every where they went; but no—Mr. Rickards, like a special pleader, had a case to make out, a theory to support, and he merely brought into relief what suited his views, rather than what rendered justice to his antagonist—*Proh pudor!* Colonel Galloway says that the zemindars of Bengal, in addition to the Mahomedan assessment (of Akbar) of rupees 1,49,61,482, were bound to furnish 23,330 cavalry, 801,158 infantry, 170 elephants, 4,260 cannon, and 4,400 boats; that Behar paid in revenue rupees 55,47,985, and furnished a contingent of 11,415 cavalry, 449,350 infantry and 100 boats. Colonel Galloway justly adds,—"the British Government has not only relieved the people from such burdens as these, but has continued the old exemptions and admitted a variety of new exemptions, from revenue; and moreover has seldom, if ever, availed itself of the customary exercise of the power of resumption of jagheers and other rent-free lands."*

I ask you, Mr. Rickards, was it fair, was it honourable, to omit this highly important statement? Yet, Sir, you not only disingenuously concealed it, but you acted in a similar manner with respect to the numerous annual and occasional

and properties of infidels, and to distribute them among the Mussulmans;" and he abundantly proves in many other passages throughout his work, that the Mahomedans were not slow to avail themselves of this "lawful" enactment.

* Page 98, second edition, Parbury, Allen, and Co.

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imposts which were levied on the Zimmee or non-Moslem subject by his conqueror, in addition to the "khurauj," or five tithes of the produce: the capitation-tax on adult non-Moslem subjects amounted annually to the enormous sum of about ninety-eight millions of rupees annually! The mint taxes were six and a quarter per cent. for gold, besides seven and a-half per cent. more paid by the owner of the bullion for the expense of assaying and coinage! On silver and copper coinage, the Government duty alone on each species was five per cent.* The tax levied on marriages whether of a son or daughter must, as Col. Galloway says, have been great, it varied from ten gold mohurs downwards, according to the rank of the parents; goods were annually taxed, whether as merchandize in store or in transit; the stock in a tradesman's or artist's shop paid a yearly *ad valorem* tax; the gold and silver coin in the possession of an individual, the bullion, the ornaments of jewellery, the plate made of the precious metals, were all taxed by the Moslems at the lowest rate of two and a-half per cent.† The custom duties were five per cent. on non-Moslem subjects, two and a-half per cent. on Moslems; then there were taxes on "convocations assembled to settle business, on each person," on horses, on kine, on herbs, on fruit and fruit-trees, on cases of succession, on artizans,

* There was an annual recoinage under the Mahomedan governments. Rupees of three years' currency were received at a discount of three per cent.; but the poor tenants or under-farmers had paid these in to the zemindar at a discount of five per cent., by which he lost two per cent. on his rent.

† These circumstances fully account for the dread which the Hindoos evince to the present day of allowing the extent of their wealth to be known; it was gratifying to me, however, to hear a zemindar informing me one day when visiting his splendid, and at the same time elegant mansion, "I may now display my wealth without a fear of its being taxed." All the Hindoos have not, however, yet allowed their fears to subside, and many are immensely rich who appear poverty-struck.

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on hemp, oil, blankets, butter, raw hides, on measuring land and on weighing, on gambling with dice, on new and full moon festivals, on sawing timber, on the buyer and seller of houses, on passports, for killing cattle, on tanning, on the commencement of reaping, on lime for building, on ploughs, on salt, on spirituous liquors, on brokerage, on fishermen, on storax, on felt, on houses; there was also a kind of poll-tax called "pug," as also hearth money, lodging charges, town dues, market dues,* shroffage, bags for the money revenue, money trier's dues, subordinate collector's dues, daroga fees, and a hideous list of *et ceteras*, which Mr. Rickards has the audacity to assert are for the greater part "continued to the present day."† Leaving this candid antagonist to the deserts which such conduct ought to meet with from the public, let us observe one of the methods by which such collections were made by the Mahomedan Government.

Jaffier Khan, whose administration is so highly extolled by his countrymen and contemporary historians, by the expression that during his government, "the wolf and the lamb lived in harmony together; the hawk and the partridge dwelt in one nest;" this beneficent ruler (whose system, says Mr. Rickards, the Company follow) "used to suspend the zemindars by the heels, and, after rubbing the soles of their feet with a hard brick, bastinado them with

* The zemindars and farmers exercised the liberty of levying tolls on goods of all kinds *in transitu*, by water, as well as duties on commodities sold either in the established, or in the occasional markets. Toll-houses were erected without restriction as to number, and without any public regulation as to the rate of tolls. Every thing depended on the discretion of the zemindars and farmers. Thus the internal trade of the country, whether carried on by water or by land (alluding to the government custom-houses) was liable to endless impediments and indefinite extortion.—Right Honourable Robert Grant's Expediency maintained, p. 25.

† Vol. ii. p. 35.

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a switch ;"* although these gentle admonitions might have made the zemindars pay Jaffier what he required in summer, it seems to have been too mild for the winter, for we learn from his panygerists, that "in the winter he would order them (the nobles of the land) to be stripped naked, and then *sprinkled* with water, and he used then to have them flogged until they paid the money!" The Mahomedan prince thought that what was good for the goose was good for the gander: for if he found that in spite of rubbing the soles of their feet with a brickbat, and tickling them with a knout, or giving them a shower bath, until their skins were raised to a high state of titillation, (cutis anserina) and fit for the reception of the cat-o'-nine tails;—if he found these and a hundred other infernal devices, which none but a demon could invent and none but devils execute, fail, then he compelled the offender, his wife, and children, to turn Mahomedans! When the zemindar or landed proprietor was thus treated, the graduated scale of extortion and cruelty, which increased as it proceeded down to the lowest human beings, may be imagined. Mr. Orme, who wrote in 1753, before the Company became possessed of the territory in Bengal, thus describes the miserable condition of the wretched subjects of the celebrated Aliverdi Khan:—

"Imitation (says Mr. Orme) has conveyed the unhappy system of oppression which prevails in the government of Hindostan throughout all ranks of the people, from the highest even to the lowest subject of the empire. Every head of a village calls his habitation the durbar, and plunders of their meal and roots the wretches of his precincts; from him the zemindar extorts the small pittance of silver which his penurious tyranny has scraped together; the phousdar seizes upon the greatest share of the zemindar's collection, and then secures the favour

* Narrative of Transactions in Bengal, translated from the Persian by F. Gladwin Esq.; Calcutta, 1788.

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of the nabob by voluntary contribution, which leave him not possessed of the half of his rapines and exactions; the nabob fixes his rapacious eye on every portion of wealth which appears in his province, and never fails to carry off part of it. By large deductions from these acquisitions, he purchases security from his superiors, or maintains it against them at the expense of a war."*

Such is the system which Mr. Rickards contends, in 1832, to be that of the East-India Company at the present day, by which "the surplus of the preceding year followed that of its precursor, to be buried in the coffers of its merciless spoiler!"†

To enter into a discussion on the past state of the landed revenues of Hindostan would occupy volumes upon volumes, it will be therefore sufficient to shew its present practical operation.

The modes in which land is now assessed in India are these:—

1st. A perpetual settlement with the zemindars, as in lower Bengal.

2d. A temporary settlement with the heads of villages or townships, as in Bombay and the Western provinces.

3d. A temporary settlement with each individual occupant or farmer, as at Madras.

These assessments are termed the zemindarry, the village, and the ryotwar assessments. The permanent settlement was made in 1793 with the zemindars of Bengal in perpetuity, it extends over the greater part of lower Bengal.

As a means of ascertaining the aggregate amount of taxation in the lower province of Bengal, over the greater part of which the permanent settlement extends, I prepared, while in India, the first four columns of figures in the fol-

* General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan, book iii. chap. 9

† Rickards' India, vol. ii. p. 7, *et passim.*



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lowing table, from Government documents; the last, or amount of revenue collected in 1828-29, I derive from the documents laid before Parliament in the present year (1832), they are the latest returns on the subject; the table will shew whether the average rate of taxation be so monstrous* as Mr. Rickards has endeavoured to shew by quoting, as Mr. Poynder has done, the opinions of men who wrote in the last century on the condition of the people.

* Mr. Rickards, of course, omits to state that in India the labourer is not taxed for his food, drink, &c., while in England the principal portion of the Government revenue (independent of a protecting duty of twelve or fourteen millions sterling on corn) is derived from articles which enter into the consumption of the lowest class of people; on tobacco, for instance, which to most working men is an absolute necessary of life, the most inferior kind pays a duty of 1,440 per cent.! Those who wish to see a complete exposure of Mr. Rickards' disingenuous conduct with reference to the East-India Company, and which deprives him of the slightest value as a political or commercial opponent of the Company, will find an able exposition of it in the *Asiatic Journal* for May, June, and July, 1832. Mr. Mill says (Commons 11th August 1831) that the land revenue system of India, not carried beyond the limits of a moderate rent, is the best revenue system in the world, because so far as the wants of a state can be supplied from that source such a country is untaxed! "In many cases," says the same profound philosopher, "the landed assessment of India is not one-tenth of the gross produce," and "instructions, more and more peremptory, have been sent out to India, to take special care that no more than the rent is taken, and in all doubtful cases that the error, if any, be on the safe side, by taking less than the rent rather than more." 3443. In fact, the land tax of India is not much more than five-tenths of the whole Indian revenue drawn by the East-India Company.

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| | Names of Districts. | Number of Square Miles | No. of Villages in each District. | No. of Houses in each District. | Amount of Population. | Amount of Revenue in 1828-29. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Forming the Presidency of CALCUTTA. | Town of Calcutta | 7 | — | 53,005 | 300,000 | Rs. 2,018 |
| | Suburbs of Calcutta | 1,105 | 710 | 72,172 | 366,360 | 3,42,443 |
| | Twenty-four Pergunnas | 3,610 | 2,891 | 129,919 | 639,295 | 6,57,533 |
| CALCUTTA PROVINCE. | Hoogley | 2,260 | 3,987 | 267,430 | 1,540,350 | 9,03,720 |
| | Nuddea | 3,105 | 4,648 | 254,622 | 1,364,275 | 2,52,929 |
| | Jessore | 5,180 | 6,239 | 345,796 | 1,750,406 | 10,84,285 |
| | Cuttack | 9,040 | 10,511 | 396,924 | 1,984,620 | 12,81,941 |
| | Midnapore | 8,260 | 8,536 | 382,812 | 1,914,060 | 11,98,227 |
| | Burdwan | 2,000 | 6,576 | 256,310 | 1,487,263 | 25,79,614 |
| PATNA. | Jungle Mehauls | 6,990 | 6,492 | 269,948 | 1,394,740 | 4,36,361 |
| | Ramghur | 22,430 | 12,364 | 479,563 | 2,325,632 | 1,59,343 |
| | Behar | 5,235 | 6,312 | 268,121 | 1,340,610 | 13,31,687 |
| | Tirhoot | 7,732 | 10,976 | 352,970 | 1,968,720 | 16,48,660 |
| | Sarun | 5,760 | 6,118 | 292,815 | 1,494,179 | 14,24,943 |
| | Shahabad | 4,650 | 4,185 | 181,770 | 908,856 | 10,93,774 |
| | Patna | 667 | 1,098 | 51,141 | 265,705 | 3,26,665 |
| MOORSHEDABAD. | Bhaugulpore | 7,270 | 3,667 | 159,558 | 797,790 | 3,84,491 |
| | Purneah | 7,460 | 5,268 | 296,472 | 1,560,284 | 10,13,207 |
| | Dinagepore | 5,920 | 12,240 | 498,360 | 2,625,720 | 16,88,796 |
| | Rungpoor | 7,856 | 4,231 | 268,070 | 1,340,350 | 10,02,451 |
| | Rajeshahye | 3,950 | 9,170 | 817,431 | 4,087,155 | 12,93,807 |
| | Beerbhoom | 3,870 | 5,287 | 253,413 | 1,267,665 | 6,32,817 |
| | Moorshedabad | 1,870 | 2,342 | 152,538 | 762,690 | 11,02,715 |
| DACCA. | Mymensing | 6,988 | 7,904 | 290,934 | 1,454,670 | 6,40,480 |
| | Sylhet | 3,532 | 5,717 | 216,744 | 1,083,720 | 3,05,039 |
| | Tipperah | 6,830 | 7,529 | 274,452 | 1,372,260 | 7,36,303 |
| | Chittagong | 2,980 | 1,108 | 140,160 | 790,806 | 4,07,229 |
| | Backergunge | 2,780 | 2,454 | 137,328 | 686,640 | 7,94,452 |
| | Dacca | 1,870 | 2,569 | 102,777 | 512,385 | 3,51,535 |
| | Dacca (Jelalpore) | 2,585 | 2,543 | 117,675 | 583,375 | 4,81,063 |
| | Total | 153,792 | 163,673 | 7,781,230 | 39,970,581 | Rs.2,58,68,518* |

* It is remarkable that the landed revenue of Bengal in 1786-7 was Rs. 2,57,27,206, so that in nearly half a century the people have not been subjected to any increase of land taxation, notwithstanding the vast augmentation in the value of landed property and produce.



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Now by making due allowance for the increase of population since the foregoing census was taken, which is upwards of ten years ago, it will be seen that the average land taxation on each individual, under the permanent settlement, is scarcely half a rupee annually, or little more than *one shilling a year!** Some writers, indeed, have stated that the Government assessment on the cultivated lands (the only soil assessed) is only five anas per beegah, not one-third of a rupee; and Mr. Colebrooke said twenty years ago, that "the net profits of the zemindars of the permanently settled provinces, was equal to half the revenue which they paid to Government," *i. e.* according to Colonel Galloway, sixteen million rupees, or one million six hundred thousand pounds; but it is now (in 1832) generally known that the zemindars' net revenue is far greater in amount than that of the Government revenue.†

Some estates belonging to minors, lunatics, and other persons under the Bengal Government, which are managed by the State for the benefit of the parties, as the Court of Chancery does in this country, confirm this statement, although a zemindar on his estate would make the profit larger than it is even here shewn. The following are a few of the estates, with the districts in which they are situated:—

* From accurate observations in different parts of India, the population doubles itself in from thirty to forty years; Mr. Baber says, in Malabar, in thirty years: the population of the foregoing provinces may therefore now be estimated at 50,000,000.

† It is in evidence before the Parliamentary Committee (3855) that "the land tax has decreased in the whole of India from the year 1792-93, when it was 68,100 parts of the whole revenue, to 42,100 parts in 1827-28." Mr. Mill says that the taxes which have been remitted by the Company as 'vexatious, are very numerous;' customs, salt, and opium, stamps, post-office, &c. have supplied the decrease of the landed revenue.

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| Districts. | Government Revenue. | Farmer's Rent. | Zemindar's Profit. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rupees. | Rupees. | Rupees. |
| Jessore .................... | 1,10,224 | 2,25,037 | 1,14,813 |
| Jungle Mehals .............. | 3,654 | 19,677 | 16,023 |
| Midnapore .................. | 5,045 | 12,906 | 7,861 |
| Mymensing................... | 1,15,941 | 3,16,732 | 2,00,791 |
| Rajeshye.................... | 40,474 | 84,263 | 43,789 |
| Rungpore ................... | 25,656 | 57,587 | 31,931 |
| Total........ Rs. | 3,00,994 | 7,16,202 | 4,15,208 |

Thus we see that, instead of the Government receiving half the gross produce, as Mr. Rickards says, the farmer's rent is considerably above double the amount of the government assessment, and the zemindar's profit much more than equal to it.*

But let us examine the subject in another manner; as I fear we have all been acquiescing too quietly in doctrines, which had no other foundation in truth but the frequency and the loudness with which they were uttered:—

The Nominal Permanent Settlement on a Beegah of Land.

The farmer .. 50 per cent. of the gross produce.
The zemindar 10 .. do. .......... do.
The government 40 .. do. .......... do.

The Actual Landed Produce and Settlement on a Beegah of Land.

| | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|
| The farmer† 8 maunds of clean rice, at 2 rs. per maund .... | 16 | 0 |
| The zemindar's rent,† 4 rs. per beegah.................. | 8 | 0 |
| The government revenue................................. | 0 | 7½ |

* The editor of the *Times*, 1st August 1832, makes this correct admission relative to the different shares of the produce:—" In recent sales of a zemindarry, it has appeared that in one estate (or talook) the moiety claimable from the cultivators was 74,000 rupees, whilst the amount of revenue due to government was 36,000, just half of what would have been its due, whilst the zemindar's share was 38,000 rupees instead of 7,400."—*Times*, August 1, 1832.

† Tables No. 1. and 2, shew the monthly expenditure of the family of a zemindar, or proprietor of 2,000 beegahs of land; and that of a farmer who cultivates about 20 beegahs of land, gross produce of the latter 300 rupees per annum; the first table I prepared from the government

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Thus a beegah of cultivated land, which produces on the average ten maunds of unhusked, or eight maunds of husked rice, of which the average market price is sixteen shillings, while it yields to the zemindar half the gross produce, does not give the government the twenty-seventh part! And this, be it remembered, is without reference to the autumn crop, which is a valuable one,* to the immense quantity of land held rent-free, or to waste land cultivated since the perpetual settlement. So much for Mr. Rickards' two ponderous *tomes* of sarcastic but idle declamation respecting the onerous land-tax of the Company on forty million of souls, which, after all that has been said and written, amounts to about *four farthings* monthly per head!

I will now endeavour to ascertain the proportion of land-tax to the population in other parts of India; and, first, that of the western provinces and unsettled districts of Bengal. For want of returns to be relied on, it will be necessary to take the aggregate population, and omit the number of villages and houses:—

vernment records in India. The price at which rice is calculated is 2 rupees per maund (82lbs.).

| Table 1. | R. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rice about 6 seers per day | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Dhall | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Salt, 8 chuttucks | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| Milk, 2 seers | 3 | 12 | 0 |
| Oil, 4 chuttucks | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| Soft sugar, 8 chuttucks | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| Sweetmeats (indispensable to a Hindoo) | 3 | 12 | 0 |
| Ghee or butter | 3 | 12 | 0 |
| Tobacco, 2 chuttucks | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Pawn, beetle nut, chunam, &c. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Vegetables and condiments | 2 | 8 | 0 |
| Fire wood | 3 | 12 | 0 |
| Per month .... Rs. | 32 | 11 | 0 |

| Table 2. | R. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rice, 4-5ths of a seer for each person per day | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Pulse, one pice each per day (half-penny) | 2 | 6 | 0 |
| Salt and condiments, one pice per day | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Oil, two chuttucks per day, about | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Per month .... Rs. | 7 | 8 | 0 |

* The total annual produce of one beegah of land is estimated at 51 rupees, or 32*s.*; which still more shews the small share the government derive from the Bengal territory.

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## Revenue of the Upper Provinces and Unsettled Districts of Bengal, in 1828-29.

| Districts. | Square Miles. | Revenue, Rupees. |
|---|---|---|
| Agra | 3,500 | 16,85,112 |
| Allahabad | 2,650 | 18,63,019 |
| Allyghur | 3,400 | 14,19,795 |
| Azimghur | 2,240 | 9,31,000 |
| Benares* | 350 | 16,06,450 |
| Banda | —‡ | 14,11,405 |
| Burebee† | 6,900 | 13,41,039 |
| Cawnpoor | 2,650 | 30,65,211 |
| Calpee | — | 15,29,293 |
| Etawah | 3,450 | 19,19,510 |
| Furruckhabad | 1,850 | 11,05,044 |
| Futtehpoor | 1,780 | 11,89,364 |
| Ghazeepoor | 2,850 | 11,68,727 |
| Goruckpoor | 9,250 | 6,80,352 |
| Hijlee | —‡ | 3,00,000 |
| Juanpoor | 1,820 | 9,86,395 |
| Kumaon and Dheera Dhoon | —‡ | 1,87,458 |
| Moradabad } | 5,800 | 8,98,248 |
| Ditto, N. Division } | | 14,67,641 |
| Puttaspoor | —‡ | 61,422 |
| Pilibheat | —‡ | 4,27,137 |
| Saidabad | —‡ | 15,47,654 |
| Shajehanpoor | 1,420 | 12,70,751 |
| Suhuswan | —‡ | 11,51,515 |
| Sumbulpoor, South Behar | —‡ | 34,068 |
| | 152,210 | 2,92,47,610 |

Remarks.

* Benares is permanently settled; but I had not the house, village, or population returns to enable me to bring into the table of the Lower Bengal Provinces.

† I take this word to mean *Bareilly*, in the revenue return it is *Burebee;* in the district return published last year, it is of course Bareilly.

‡ *N.B.*—This table being compiled from two parliamentary documents, will explain why the number of square miles is omitted in several places: the district return is signed "T. Fisher, India House, Sept. 1831." The revenue document is dated in 1832, and signed by Mr. Mill. I find the total number of square miles, by adding what is given in the 1st column to that of the ceded districts on the Nerbudda, 29,800 miles; the districts ceded by the rajah of Berar in 1826, amounting to 55,900, and several other places, the aggregate of all which (excepting the Nerbudda and Berar districts), according to the parliamentary return is 66,510 square miles, giving a total of 152,210.

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By this table it appears that the landed revenue of the unsettled districts of Bengal is greater than that of the settled: the point to be ascertained is the population. Mr. Ewer, the superintendent of police in the western provinces, computed the population of 66,510 square miles at 32,206,806, which would give 489 inhabitants to the square mile—a rate which appears too high, considering the long wars that have occurred in those provinces, and compared with the lower and settled provinces of Bengal, where the average number of inhabitants to the square mile is 250. Now, if we take the total number of square miles in the unsettled provinces (152,210), and compute the inhabitants at 250 the square mile, which is most probably not above the mark, we shall have a population of 37,952,500, from whom a landed revenue of rupees 2,92,47,680 is drawn, or, at two shillings the sicca rupee, of £2,924,768, which would give, on the average, eighteen-pence per annum for each individual.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain the profit of the farmer. In the unsettled district there is no middle man, or zemindar, between the government and the farmer or proprietor. The average rate of assessment I calculate to be one rupee and a half per beegah, or in sterling money three shillings. Assuming rice as the basis, a beegah of very ordinary land will produce, in the upper provinces, seven maunds,* or 574 lbs. of clean rice, which, at 50 lbs. for the rupee (the rate at which it now sells), will yield eleven

* In the tables quoted by Mr. Rickards (vol. i. p. 301), the produce of land in the western provinces is thus stated in wheat:—

| | Maund. | Seers. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 beegah of best Poolej land ............ | 18 | 0 |
| Do. of middling do. ............... | 12 | 0 |
| Do. of worst do. ............... | 8 | 35 |
| Average............ | 12 | 39 |

This is only the spring crop.

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rupees, or twenty-two shillings sterling. The revenue of the government, and the proceeds of the farmer, will therefore stand thus:

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gross revenue of government on one beegah of land .. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Gross income of farmer on do. do. ........ | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Proceeds of the farmer clear of government duty .. | £0 | 19 | 0* |

I consider the foregoing as a fair view of the case. In some districts the government revenue on a beegah of cultivated land—as in Bareilly, for instance—is only eight anas, or one shilling; in other districts it is higher, but three shillings is a fair average. Again, with respect to the value of the produce on a beegah of land, it must be remembered that, supposing a beegah did not yield eleven rupees' worth of produce every year, yet there is always a quantity of waste land attached to a farm, on which little or no revenue is charged, as an inducement to bring it into cultivation; and I have only given the spring crop, leaving the autumn crop of cotton, &c. clear of government revenue to the farmer: therefore, in reckoning the worth of the gross produce at twenty-two shillings, and the government revenue thereon at three shillings, I have not exaggerated the one, nor lessened the other.†

An endeavour will now be made to ascertain the proportion of landed revenue to the population in Madras.

* In fact, so far from Mr. Rickards being correct in his statement respecting the Company "seizing on *half the gross produce* of the soil," it is clearly shewn by Mr. Mill, that the Company have "decidedly not gone on the principle of taking even *a portion* of the gross produce; all the Company require is a moderate rent. (3899.)

† Bishop Heber adduces a strong argument against an extension of a permanent settlement, namely, 'the precariousness of the crops;' he admits that government have shewn themselves 'indulgent masters.'—" The valuation of land in Guzerat is moderate; it is only from year to year, but in a country where the 'crops are so precarious, a longer settlement is not desired by the people themselves.' "

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MADRAS LAND REVENUE for 1828-29.

| Group | District. | Area. | Population. | Revenue. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Square Miles. | | Sicca Rupees. |
| Settled Districts. | Gangam | 6,400 | 332,015 | 7,17,113 |
| | Guntoor | 4,960 | 454,754 | 14,29,120 |
| | Masulipatam | 5,000 | 529,849 | 7,62,368 |
| | Rajamundry | 6,050 | 738,308 | 16,92,513 |
| | Vizagapatam | 15,300 | 772,570 | 10,39,359 |
| Unsettled Districts. | Chingleput | 3,020 | 363,129 | 6,60,529 |
| | Salem | 8,200 | 1,075,985 | 15,86,984 |
| | Arcot, North Div. | 13,620 | 892,292 | 18,62,718 |
| | Arcot, South Div. | | 455,020 | |
| | Canara | 7,720 | 657,594 | 14,47,755 |
| | Coimbatore | 8,280 | 638,199 | 22,52,531 |
| | Cuddapah | 12,970 | 1,094,460 | 18,31,140 |
| | Bellary | 12,980 | 927,857 | 18,85,941 |
| | Madura & Ramnad, &c. | 10,700 | 788,196 | 11,71,231 |
| | Malabar | 6,060 | 907,575 | 15,87,736 |
| | Nellore | 7,930 | 439,467 | 16,00,651 |
| | Tinnivelly | 5,700 | 564,957 | 11,76,994 |
| | Trinchinopoly | 3,000 | 481,292 | 13,59,104 |
| | Tanjore | 4,000 | 901,353 | 29,33,452 |
| | Madras and district | 30 | 462,051 | 26,132 |
| | | 135,820 | 13,476,923 | 2,70,23,371 |

It will be observed that the land-tax at Madras is apparently greater, in proportion to the population, than at Bengal. This is accounted for by the circumstance of the thinness of the population, compared with the extent of country, the number of inhabitants to the square mile averaging only ninety-nine, according to the returns of the foregoing census. Since that period, however, the population has wonderfully increased. Malabar, for instance, is rated in the foregoing table at little more than 900,000, where it is now 1,100,000. Mr. Baber states that, by the ordinary increase of population, Malabar has doubled itself within the last thirty years. Indeed the population of the Madras provinces may, at the period for which the revenue is given, be taken at Mr. Baber's estimate of 183 to the square mile; but, taking the number of square miles at

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135,820, and average the number of inhabitants so low as 120 to the square mile, the population will be 16,298,400, and the average landed revenue for each person thirty-nine pence yearly, which, when it is considered that this is the principal tax under Madras, can scarcely be looked on as exorbitant.

That the revenue is not in excess of the means of the people, will be best seen by their improvement. In Coimbatoor, for example,* the extent of land under cultivation was—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1814-15 | acres | 960,000 |
| 1825-26 | | 1,451,439 |
| Increase | acres | 491,439 |

Garden cultivation—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1814 | acres | 81,441 |
| 1825 | | 124,215 |
| Increase | areas | 42,774 |

Number of wells in use—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1814 | number | 27,097 |
| 1825 | | 31,612 |
| Increase | number | 4,515 |

Government assessment—

In 1814........ 33 per cen.t of the gross produce.
1825........ 20 do. ........ do.

There was a permanent reduction, to the extent of one lac of rupees, in the assessment.

Bombay next claims attention; but here the population and area returns are more vague than at Madras:

* I am aware that Coimbatore is considered a favourable specimen of the ryotwar assessment; but if records of other districts, as minute as Mr. Sullivan's, were prepared, a nearly equal extent of cultivation would be observed.

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BOMBAY LAND REVENUE for 1828-29.

| Districts. | Area. | Population. | Revenue. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Square Miles. | | Sicca Rupees. |
| Bombay | 18 | 162,570 | 33,076 |
| Concan, South | 6,770 | 640,857 | 9,53,697 |
| Concan, North | 5,500 | 387,264 | 9,07,661 |
| Surat | 1,350 | 454,431 | 13,65,223 |
| Broach | 1,600 | 229,527 | 14,93,830 |
| Kaira | 1,850 | 484,735 | 77,888 |
| Ahmedabad | 4,600 | 528,073 | 2,24,558 |
| Ahmednuggur } Poona } | 20,870 | 484,717 | 16,70,641 |
| | | 650,000 | 2,99,982 |
| Candeish | 12,430 | 417,976 | 10,18,100 |
| Darwar | 9,950 | 2,198,660 | 17,22,279 |
| Cattywar* | — | — | 5,75,348 |
| Anjar* | — | — | 82,667 |
| Total | 64,938 | 6,438,810 | 1,04,24,950 |

Adopting the two first columns as correct, the number of inhabitants to the square mile would be only 100, and the annual revenue to each person thirty-seven pence half-penny. This, however, is far too high: the territories under the Bombay presidency are nearly as well peopled as those under Madras; therefore, computing by this standard, and allowing for Cattywar and Anjar, the annual landed assessment on each person will be about thirty pence, or two-pence-halfpenny per month! So much for Mr. Rickards' "savage" exactions of the Company's government on the land!

It must not be forgotten that out of the foregoing sums, received as land revenue, the Company have considerable annual disbursements to make exclusive of the ordinary state purposes; there is a quit rent paid to those who have a lien on the land, which it is stated amounted, in Bengal in 1827-28 to £310,980, in Madras in 1817 to £3,089, and in Bombay in 1820 to £213,526. There are also dis-

* I can find no returns any where of the area or population of these districts.

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bursements for works of irrigation, which for Bengal amounted in 1827 to £66,902, for Madras in 1827 to £42,886 and for Bombay in 1820 to £14,490. These latter charges vary yearly, according to the dryness of the season, but they absorb a large portion of the revenue.

It is not the object of this work, to enter into an examination of the comparative merits of the different modes of assessing the land; each of the plans now in operation can boast of some peculiar merit, either as regards the constitution of the people or the nature of the soil. The zemindarry or permanent settlement of the lower provinces of Bengal, was perhaps unavoidable on account of the manner in which the province had been administered under the Mahomedan government; but however beneficial it may have been for the zemindars, whether the original ones or their successors, it is generally admitted that it has not been so for the cultivators, whose rights have passed away *sub silentio*. The formation of a high-ranked landed gentry was the intention of Lord Cornwallis, who, according to the ideas prevalent in his time, looked on the establishment of such a superior class as the greatest prop to our government, and the best means of advancing the condition of the people. Adam Smith, however, saw the matter in a juster light; he objected to the idea of a permanent settlement or the creation of a landed aristocracy, on the strong grounds that idle and profligate bailiffs would usurp the place of industrious and sober tenants,*

* The oppression which the tenantry, under the permanent settlement are subjected to, is a constant theme of investigation with the Bengal Government and Court of Directors; Mr. Christian in his evidence (28th July 1831), thus speaks on the subject:—

" 3023. *Q.* Are the ryots now subject to increase of rent? *A.* I think that the rent is frequently increased on them; one case in particular came before me as member of the Board of Revenue for the lower Provinces; it originated, I believe, in the district of Jessore, where the purchaser or the proprietor had practised great exaction, so much so, that I considered it my duty to submit the case for the consi-

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who are bound by their own interest to cultivate as well as their skill and capital will allow. Besides, the government by having made the assessment perpetual, and fixed the amount to be received in money instead of in grain, denied itself all future participation, in the prosperity of its subjects, no matter what its exigencies might be; and when we see the extreme unwillingness of the Hindoos to submit to any other species of taxation but that on land, the evil becomes a serious one to the ruling power.

With respect to the ryotwar* assessment, the only place where it has had a fair trial has been Coimbatoor, and there the results have been advantageous to the government, as well as to the people; but a difficulty occurs in making this mode of settlement general, on account of the variety of soils and climate, as well as from the constitution of village communities, which extend over the greater

consideration of the government.—*Q.* What were the particulars of that case? *A.* He had hired, I understood, a number of armed persons for the purpose of oppressing the cultivators; had disregarded all existing engagements, and had collected as much as he could succeed in collecting by fair or foul means. The collector made a detailed report, which was submitted to the government, who ordered, at least if my memory does not fail me, that the proprietor should have the option of either relinquishing his purchase, or abiding a prosecution which they would order to be instituted in the court; he preferred, I think, to relinquish his tenure, and then the parties were satisfied.—*Q.* That was under the permanent settlement of Jessore? *A.* Yes.—*Q.* Do you know that at first there was considerable doubt whether it was competent for the government in any way to interfere for the protection of those ryots? *A.* I think it was considered doubtful by a member or members of the Board of Revenue, whether, under the regulations of government, the revenue authorities had any power to interfere, but a special case was made of it, and submitted to the government.—*Q.* What is the general character of that class of society—of the proprietors of land? *A.* They vary in some parts of the district; they are what are called rajapoots, which are considered the fighting class, the military; and they, generally speaking, pay their revenue with tolerable punctuality; but it is dangerous in some instances to interfere with the internal management of their estates; a sort of feudal system obtains in some tenures.

* The predominant feature of the ryotwar is assessing all in money, assessing each field and collecting the assessment from the cultivator by a revenue officer without any intermediate agent.

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part of India. Mr. Hodgson says, the ryotwar may be beneficial above the Ghauts, on account of the abundance of rain, but not so below by reason of frequent draughts. The following detail of the nature of village corporations,* will explain the difficulty, if not impossibility, of forming permanent or ryotwar settlements throughout India:—

"A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising some hundreds or thousands of acres of arable and waste land; politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consist of the following descriptions:

"The potail, or head inhabitant, who has the general superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty already prescribed, of collecting the revenues within his village, a duty which his personal influence, and minute acquaintance with the situation and concerns of the people, renders him best qualified to discharge. The curnum, who keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers every thing connected with it. The talliar and totie; the duty of the former appearing to consist in a wider and more enlarged sphere of action, in gaining information of crimes and offences, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops and assisting in measuring them. The boundary man, who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence concerning them in cases of dispute; he has the superintendence of the tanks and watercourses, and distributes the water therefrom for the purposes of agriculture. The brahmin, who performs the village worship. The schoolmaster, who is seen teaching the children in the villages to read and write in the sand. The calender brahmin, or astrologer, who proclaims the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing and threshing. The smith and carpenter, who manufacture the implements of agriculture, and build the dwelling of the ryot. The potman, or potter; the fisherman; the barber; the

* It is alleged that the village settlement has this advantage over the others, *viz.* that an unsuccessful attempt at improved cultivation by one of the villagers is only a moderate loss to the whole village, while a profitable one contributes to the general prosperity of not only the villagers in general, but to that of the whole country.

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cowkeeper, who looks after the cattle; the doctor; the dancing-girl, who attends at rejoicings; the musician and pulk. These officers generally constitute the establishment of a village; but in some parts of the country it is of less extent, some of the duties and functions being united in the same person; in others it exceeds the number described.

"Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by war, famine, or disease, the same name, limits, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged; the potail is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge and magistrate, and collector or renter of the village."—*Fifth Report*, p. 85.

The foregoing is a beautiful picture of an Indian village, and its constitution may well account for the affectionate conduct of the Hindoos, not merely to their countrymen in general, but to the extraordinary friendship which the inhabitant of a village has for his comrades, which is more particularly seen when they meet afar from their native home; no Scottish clanships were ever more warmly devoted to each other than the simple inhabitants of these original municipalities, which, in my opinion, have tended to preserve the structure of Hindoo society and manners during all the cruelties of Mahomedan persecutions, as much as their religion or any other circumstance. Villages, such as those described, Mr. Rickards says exist in all the Madras provinces, except Canara, Malabar, and Travancore. They prevail throughout the western provinces of Bengal equally as much as in the Bombay territories; and even the materials for their resuscitation yet exist throughout the permanently settled provinces of Bengal: their existence forms an insuperable bar to an extension of the zemindarry permanent settlement even to the upper provinces. Many instances are on record demonstrative of the

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attachment of the Hindoos to this system of domesticity; villages that have been plundered and laid waste for thirty or forty years, have become immediately re-occupied by the original owners or their heirs on the return of tranquillity, possession being taken, without the slightest disputes with previous occupants, as soon as their right claimants were made known, the infant Potail, probably the second or third in descent from the emigrator, being carried at the head of the parties, who, while absent from their homes, had, no matter how far scattered, kept up a regular communication, intermarrying among each other, and making the links of adversity bind them the more firmly together in friendship.* Under the village assessment it is difficult to say what proportion of the produce goes to pay the revenue; the custom of the district is the guide for the distribution of the corporation taxation; in general the village expenses are paid before the revenue amount is fixed on; these expenses include a great many items, *viz.* the different officers of the village before enumerated, the potail, the carpenter, the barber, the watchman, the doctor, &c. have each a share, after which there is so much reserved to keep up the hospitality of the village and so on. Mr. Fortescue says that "the Government know little of the precise extent of property of any of the village proprietors; it is not the interest or the wish of the village that the Government should scrutinize and know their possessions, and therefore if any one of the brotherhood fails to pay his proportion, that is a matter for the village at large to settle, they will often come forward to pay it for him, but those are all private arrangements kept to themselves." (Lords, 533.) And in speaking of the number of deserted villages about Delhi which have been repeopled since the country came into the hands of the

* For an interesting account of these proceedings, vide Sir John Malcolm's and Colonel Tod's valuable works on India.



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Company, he says, "the principle was adopted of not assessing a village till it was in such a forward state of cultivation that, with reference to other land, it was reasonable to assess it;"—Mr. Fortescue adds, that "the improved cultivation of land has gone before the increase of revenue;" this has been the case all over India, and it has been the wise policy of the governments to encourage cultivation as well by moderate assessments, as by giving every facility for extended husbandry. Before taking leave of this branch of the subject I would wish to advert to some other parts of Mr. Rickards' work, but really it is such a blended mass of contradictory opinions, and so much at variance in itself, and compared with his evidence before parliament, that it is a wearisome task to unravel and expose; at one moment Mr. R. condemns the minuteness of the ryotwar survey at Madras (which occupied five years, and cost the Company £36,000), and at the same time he blames the Company's Government for ignorance of the state of the country in Bengal; he censures the government for the general inequality of their assessments, but admits that "surveys have been frequently attempted for the purpose of equalizing the land-tax of India, and reducing it to just and moderate principles." (Lords, 522.) Numerous are his complaints against the Bengal government for having dispossessed and beggared the zemindars with whom the permanent settlement was made, while in the next page (385) he condemns these very same zemindars for "ignorance, rapacity, oppressions, collisions, and abuses of all kinds;" he denies that the permanent assessment was a moderate jumma,* asserts that the assessment levied by the Company

* Mr. Christian, as well as numerous other witnesses and writers, maintain with truth, that the "Lower Provinces of Bengal are generally considered to be lightly assessed, and in many parts very much under assessed." (Lords, 84.)

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was greater than that of the Mahomedans, but avows that now there is a scramble for land when put up for sale, the possession of which, during the Moslem dynasty, "was rather considered a misfortune than an advantage" (page 368); and describes lands selling in 1821 for seventeen years' purchase of the jumma (371). He proves that the Mahomedans exacted, plundered, and squeezed, without any fixed rule (25), declares that the East-India Company follow the same course (vol. i. page 279),* while before the House of Lords the very same authority, Mr. Rickards, is obliged to admit that "the Governments of India have been most anxious to improve the state of the ryots, as well as the Court of Directors in this country,—the orders of the Court of Directors abounding with able and humane instructions for a just administration of the territories committed to their charge" (Lords, 3964); again,—he sneers at the Company's territories as "a paradise of happiness and blessings"† (p. 38), ridicules the Court of Directors as the "inspired high priests of the temple in Leadenhall-street," &c. (p. 69); and yet Mr. Rickards recommends these very inspired high priests of the temple, whom he accuses of "oppressing" their native subjects, using the most "bar-

* Yet at vol. i. page 621, admits, "the Revenue Board at Madras were obviously led to the adoption of the mouzawa or village system, by a sincere desire to relieve the inhabitants from that wretched poverty into which former financial systems had plunged them;" a pretty proof of following in the steps of their predecessors! But these admissions which burst out here and there like rays of truth, the effulgence of which no calumny however dark and thick can entirely destroy, are always qualified by a negative, so as if possible to destroy the import of what could not be obliterated. At vol. i. page 471, Mr. Rickards sneers at the idea of a Company's servant "lowering the assessment indeed!" and at p. 124, and at other places he describes them as the "subservient tools of arbitrary power."

† This inconsistent writer says, that the courts of the Asiatic monsters, the Mahomedans, &c. abounded in barbaric pearl and gold, while squalid poverty and misery stalked through every region of their dominions. The reverse is now the case; the Company are poor, and their subjects rich, in grain, &c. if not in money.



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barous cruelty" to the free merchants, and perpetuating the most iniquitous system of fiscal exaction that ever was devised;* yet, I say, after all this, Mr. Rickards recommends the Court of Directors to his Majesty's Government as "the fittest medium they could employ for the political administration of India,"†—*O tempora! O mores!*

What the object of Mr. Rickards was in writing the two volumes now before me it is difficult to conceive; it is true he promised to shew his plan for reform in the fifth part of his work, which was certainly to be desired after the strenuous efforts he has made to demolish the whole of the present structure, and the heightened, but distorted manner in which he has painted the effects thereof. His eternal harping on the diary of the Surat factory some fifty years since; what he himself heard or saw, in the wildest and most uncivilized part of India, twenty-five years ago (!) and what passages he could pick out of old editions of works thirty years of age;‡ nevertheless Mr. Rickards bids adieu to the

* At vol. i. p. 570, of his work, Mr. Rickards says, in reference to these 'high priests of the temple,' "it is but justice to the Court of Directors to add, that the whole of their printed correspondence indicates an anxious desire to see these principles [to confer on the different orders of the community a security of property which they never before enjoyed; to protect the landholders from arbitrary and oppressive demands on the part of government; to relieve the proprietors of small estates from the tyranny of the powerful zemindars, and to free the whole body of merchants and manufacturers, and all the lower orders of the people, from the heavy impositions to which they have long been subjected:'—Court of Directors letter to the Bengal Government] carried into effect. Their letters," continues Mr. Rickards, "abound with excellent instruction, sound philosophical views, and a constant desire to promote the general welfare; and more especially to guard the lower classes against oppression." Yet the authors of such measures are in other pages of the same volume loaded with every species of vituperation, ironical and direct.

† Lords, 28th May 1830; evidence which was given after the work, from which I am quoting, was written.

‡ I might point to many verbatim passages in Mr. Rickards' writings unacknowledged; an old edition of Hamilton's East-India Gazetteer contains, word for word, Mr. Rickards' description of the invasion of Hyder Ali into the Jaghire; and his quotations from Colebrooke's Husbandry of Bengal, in 1800 and 1804, is a pretty criterion for the state of the country in 1832!

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public, without telling them what superstructure he would raise on the present system of landed taxation, which he says, "bears down with an overwhelming force and universal pressure men of caste, and men of no caste, who exhibit one uniform picture of pauperism and degradation," (vol. i. p. 41);—and which he informs the House of Lords, 14 May 1830, "keeps the cultivators in India in a state which gives them little more than a bare sufficiency to keep body and soul together." Their Lordships were naturally most anxious to know what could be done to relieve this state, and thought the witness before them a fit person to suggest such amelioration as would be desirable, particularly as Mr. Rickards dwelt so strongly on his prophesies in 1813, and referred them so constantly to his works for an exposure of the Company's system; it would be therefore only reasonable to expect, that a man who had taken such pains to prove the pernicious effects of one system of revenue, would have been enabled to point out some better means of meeting the "indispensable necessity of a certain quantum of revenue, to pay the present heavy expenses of the Company's Government;* their Lordships therefore said (Qu. 4000), "Pray, Mr. Rickards, as you have represented the mischief which had arisen out of the land revenue in India, can you suggest to the committee any improvement in that system?" The task of censure is easy, or as the poet might say,

"Facilis descensis Averni."

Mr. Rickards, I dare say, found it quite *facile*, to send the Company's revenue system to Avernus, but he was obliged to tell their Lordships, "it would be quite impossible to reduce the aggregate amount of land taxation in India;—it must be done gradually, as other sources of

* Mr. Rickards; Lords, 14th May 1830.

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supply present themselves!" (Lords, Qu. 4000). The answer did not satisfy their Lordships, after so much vituperation had been bestowed on the system, more especially as Mr. Rickards condemned so strongly the inequality of the assessment, and yet informed them that he was "of opinion that surveys would never be of use to us." "Well then, Sir," said the Committee (4005), "in what manner would you assess the revenue without the assistance of a survey?" "Oh!" said the denunciator against the system in force, which only 'leaves the people as much as will keep body and soul together;' "we must *necessarily proceed for the present on the systems which are in force* in the different districts of India, subject to such modifications and amendments as may be afforded through the means of native committees;* unless they can suggest means, by which this object can be accomplished, I should despair of success!" This, then, is Mr. Rickards' *panacea*, for all the evils which he complains of. Why what have the Company's Governments been doing the last fifty years, but trying to amend the revenue, as well as judicial institutions of the country, consulting with natives of every caste, class, and persuasion? nay, they were even desirous of striking out other paths of supply to meet the exigencies of the state, one of which was a house-tax, which was strenuously opposed every where; the causes for which I

* The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone says, with reference to Bombay, the very place where Mr. Rickards was, "the mode of collecting the revenue is adapted to the circumstances of the country; in some few parts settlements are made with the proprietors of tracts of country, more commonly with the heads of villages, or with the village communities, or with the individual cultivators. In some instances tracts of uncultivated country are given in farm to any people who will undertake to lay out their capital in improving them." (Lords, p. 307.) Mr. Elphinstone says that before he left Bombay, "a more complete survey was just commenced in the Deckan, with a view to a new and lighter assessment, and to defining tenures and fixing boundaries, the revenue being assessed according to the real productive power and range of the land." (p. 308.)

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cannot better give, than in the words of a distinguished divine, as I have noted it down when perusing his delightful writings.

*Disinclination of the Hindoos to any other species of taxation than the present system.*—Bishop Heber, in describing the tumult and sitting *dhurná* which occurred at Benares when we attempted to levy a house-tax there, gives the following reasons of the natives for objecting to it: "They recognized in their British rulers the same rights which had been recognized by the Moguls; the land-tax was their's, and they could impose duties on commodities going to market, or for exportation; but their houses were their own, they (the Hindoos) had never been intermeddled with in any but their landed property and commodities used in traffic, and the same power which now imposed a tax on their dwellings, might do the same next year on their children and on themselves."

Acting on these feelings, the Bishop says, that "in three days, and before Government were in the least aware of it, above three hundred thousand men deserted their houses, shut up their shops, suspended the labour of their farms, forbore to light fires, dress victuals, many of them even to eat, and sat down with folded arms and drooping heads, like so many sheep, on the plain which surrounds Benares!" A deputation of ten thousand persons was next proposed to be sent to Calcutta,—in fine, Government abandoned the tax. A nearly similar scene occurred at Bareilly.* What alternative then have the authorities? would Mr. Rickards recommend their following the plan in England,

* Mr. Christian says that "any change is viewed by the natives with a very considerable degree of jealousy; and any change, however just, they do not understand, and they are apt to suspect that something more is coming."(Lords, 847.) Mr. Christian was asked, "from your knowledge of the state of the population of Bengal and the territories subject to the Bengal Government, do you think there are

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of taxing fire, air, earth, and water; hackney coaches* and sausages (apropos, Mr. Poulett Thompson's excellent bill repeals the tax on sausages), little dogs and pedlars, bagnios or gaming houses† (such a tax is imposed by the King's Government in Ceylon), births, marriages, and deaths;‡ in fine, every thing eatable or drinkable, usable or not usable, which in free England pays in some shape or other to the government? But Mr. Rickards and his coadjutors renew their clamour on the old doctrine, that the ability of the subject to pay, will be in proportion as he is free. I do not deny the abstract principle of the axiom, but I object to its sweeping application; if it were qualified by the admission, that in proportion to the freedom of a people, in such proportion would be their *willingness* to contribute to the demands of the state, then I could not refuse concurrence to it. But the amount of taxation on a people, is neither a way to judge of the degree of liberty which they possess, nor of the prosperity which they enjoy. When M. Necker published his able work on the financial state of France previous to the revolution, it presented to view several remarkable facts.

| Burgundy. | Picardy. |
| --- | --- |
| In the province 1,226¼ square leagues;—663 souls to each league, each head paying 16*s*. 9*d*.; no manufactures—free institutions. | In the province 458 square leagues; — 1,164 souls to the square league;—each head paying £1. 4*s*. 11*d*.;—abundance of manufactures,—no free institutions. |

are means of raising the revenue by taxation to any extent? *A*. Any change from established custom in India gives rise to considerable dissatisfaction. The land rent is what they readily pay; although it may appear exorbitant, yet it is a revenue which is paid without much difficulty; and a tax in any other shape, however small, is comparatively disliked, I think." (848.)

* How the cranchie wallahs of Calcutta would stare if they were to be taxed!

† The gaming-houses in Ceylon are, in fact, bagnios.

‡ What are the licenses, probates, &c. in England but modifications of the Mahomedan taxation on the same events?

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BRITTANY.

In the province 1,774½ square leagues;—1,282 souls to each square league;—each head paying 10*s.* 11*d.*—A free province.

NORMANDY.

In the province 1,635 square leagues;—1,170 souls to each league;—each head paying £1. 6*s.* 0½*d.*—No distinct rights.

In the foregoing, we see that where there were abundance of manufactures, but no free institutions, the population was more numerous, and the average taxation greater than where the contrary existed; but as this subject is of considerable importance, not only to India but to England, let us examine it more narrowly.

Great Britain and Ireland enjoy the same political institutions, but the people of the latter country are less able to bear their taxation, ten shillings and six-pence per head per annum, than the people of Great Britain, who pay sixty shillings per head, which (including poor-rates, &c.) is the amount of their contribution to the state. The cause is obvious; one is a manufacturing as well as an agricultural country, where property and person are safe from violence; the other possesses few manufactures, and society is in a constant state of turmoil and party disputes, from previous misgovernment, which the ruling authorities are unable to subdue. The French, under M. Necker, paid a revenue of £24,850,000, averaging £1. 0*s.* 8*d.* per head; but under the despotism of Napoleon, they contributed a much larger quota. St. Domingo, previous to its revolution, could furnish a much greater revenue than at the present moment, when enjoying all the blessings of freedom.

The following statement of the revenue, debt, &c. of the different countries in Europe compared with India and America will, however, best illustrate the subject:

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EXTENT of POPULATION, REVENUE, and DEBT, and the PROPORTION of each to each INDIVIDUAL in EUROPE, AMERICA, and INDIA.

| States. | Geographical square miles. | Population. | Revenue. | Debt. | Proportion of Population to Area in square miles. | Proportion of Revenue to Population. | Proportion of Debt to Population. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | £. | £. | | £. s. d. | £. s. d. |
| Russian Empire | 6,002,774 | 60,367,000 | 17,420,000 | 35,550,000 | 10 | 6 8 | 11 9 |
| Austria | 194,448 | 32,838,900 | 13,940,000 | 78,100,000 | 168 | 8 5 | 2 7 6¾ |
| France (without its colonies) | 161,376 | 32,500,000 | 39,020,000 | 194,400,000 | 200 | 1 4 0 | 5 19 7 |
| Great Britain (without its colonies) | 88,560 | 24,591,396 | 47,142,033 | 819,600,000 | 278 | 1 18 4 | 33 6 1 |
| Prussia | 80,240 | 12,552,278 | 8,149,000 | 29,701,000 | 156 | 13 0 | 2 7 7½ |
| Netherlands | 19,136 | 6,116,685 | 6,590,000 | 148,500,000 | 320 | 19 0 | 23 5 5½ |
| Sweden | 126,960 | 2,900,000 | 2,170,000 | — | 23 | 15 0 | — |
| Norway | 92,768 | 1,050,132 | 354,000 | 252,100 | 11 | 6 9 | 3 10 |
| Denmark | 16,304 | 1,931,014 | 1,238,000 | 3,729,000 | 118 | 14 10¾ | 1 18 4¾ |
| Poland | 36,668 | 4,035,700 | 1,206,000 | 5,740,000 | 110 | 6 0 | 1 3 3¼ |
| Spain | 135,136 | 13,909,000 | 6,420,000 | 70,000,000 | 103 | 13 5 | 5 0 8 |
| Portugal | 27,552 | 5,013,950 | 2,110,000 | 5,649,000 | 182 | 1 | 1 2 6¼ |
| Swo Sicilies | 31,592 | 7,414,717 | 3,521,000 | 18,974,000 | 234 | 9 6½ | 2 11 2 |
| Sardinia | 21,840 | 4,333,966 | 2,750,000 | 4,584,000 | 198 | 12 8½ | 1 1 2½ |
| States of the Church | 12,976 | 2,483,940 | 1,238,000 | 17,142,000 | 191 | 9 10½ | 7 0 9¼ |
| Grand Duchy of Tuscany | 6,320 | 1,300,000 | 623,400 | 1,884,000 | 205 | 9 8¼ | 1 4 11¾ |
| Switzerland | 11,636 | 2,037,000 | 440,000 | — | 175 | 4 3¾ | — |
| Ottoman Empire in Europe | 160,000 | 9,476,000 | 2,475,000 | 3,667,000 | 59 | 5 2½ | 7 8¾ |
| Bavaria | 22,160 | 4,037,017 | 2,973,000 | 11,311,000 | 182 | 14 8½ | 2 16 0¼ |
| Saxony | 5,568 | 1,350,000 | 1,009,000 | 3,300,000 | 224 | 13 5½ | 2 9 1 |
| Hanover | 11,620 | 1,537,500 | 990,000 | 2,384,000 | 132 | 12 10½ | 1 11 0 |
| Wurtemberg | 5,744 | 1,535,400 | 851,950 | 2,505,000 | 269 | 10 5¼ | 1 12 7½ |
| Baden | 4,384 | 1,141,727 | 901,290 | 1,670,000 | 260 | 15 9½ | 1 9 2½ |
| Hesse (Darmstadt) | 2,960 | 697,901 | 537,260 | 1,184,900 | 269 | 14 7½ | 1 13 11½ |
| Hesse (Electorate) | 3,328 | 718,000 | 476,000 | 220,000 | 215 | 13 7½ | 6 1½ |
| United States, North America | 1,570,000 | 12,856,165 | 5,600,000 | 7,500,000 | 8 | 8 6¼ | 11 8 |
| East-India Company's Territories | 514,190 | 98,000,000 | 18,500,000 | 34,700,000 | 192 | 3 9½ | 7 0¾ |

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This table shews the absurdity of the doctrine, that the freedom of a nation is tested by the amount of revenue which it supplies; America, for instance, pays little more than Russia, as much as Austria, and double the amount of India; Denmark averages nearly the same as Spain, and the Ottoman empire and Switzerland are almost alike, while as regards their debt, Russia and America, Spain and France are on a footing. A difference in the system of finances, agriculture, and manufactures in nations affords a material difference in the ability of the people to pay heavy or light taxes, or to bear enormous or trivial debts. In Switzerland, as well as in England or Holland, the taxes are carried to nearly the greatest possible extent, but the Dutchman or Briton could in time of war, or under a despotic sovereign, bear more than the Swiss; the reason is obvious, the former possess extensive agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the latter are a poor but brave and free people. The inhabitants of the barren rock of St. Helena may be as free as the citizens of London, but will they be as rich? I admit, nay I am certain, that liberty is a powerful incitement to the prosperity of a nation (I mean that liberty which provides for personal safety, security of property, and the authority of public opinion); but, as Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden prove, there are other ingredients as well as the essence of freedom requisite for the creation and progression of wealth. When Mr. Rickards, therefore, complains that the Hindoos are not rich because they do not possess such free institutions as Englishmen, he should recollect the difference in manufactures there is between them, and remember that by following his advice, the people of India will be less able from year to year to bear even their present assessment. In England, the agricultural interest, although not of much more value than the manufactur-

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ing interest,* is protected in every shape; the farmer on signing his lease contracts two positive debts,† one to the landlord for rent, the other to the soil for the expenses of tillage; he relies on the goodness of the seasons, and the rate of the markets, for the provision of means to liquidate his engagements. The government cannot control the seasons, but they may the markets, and to prevent ruin to the landed interest by either of these contingencies failing, an impost is put on foreign corn, because an immoderate importation would be as fatal as a complete drought,‡ while

* The late Mr. Colquhoun estimated the annual creation of property in Great Britain and Ireland for the year 1812 as follows: I have excluded the East and West-India possessions, &c.—

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

| | |
|---|---|
| Agriculture | £216,817,624 |
| Mines and minerals | 9,000,000 |
| Manufactures | 114,230,000 |
| Inland Trade | 31,500,000 |
| Foreign commerce and shipping | 46,373,748 |
| Coasting trade | 2,000,000 |
| Fisheries (exclusive of the colonial fisheries of Newfoundland) | 2,100,000 |
| Banks, *viz.*, chartered banks and private banking establishments | 3,500,000 |
| Foreign income | 5,000,000 |
| Dependencies in Europe | 1,818,000 |
| | £432,339,372 |

† When the Hindoo farmer enters on his land, either by heritage or purchase, he does so knowing that from time immemorial it was subject to a certain assessment in proportion to its produce, which never entered into the bargain of sale, no more than the tithe or poor laws do on land in England, or the ground rent of a house; the Hindoos, therefore, in reality do not feel any burthen from the assessment, for instead of their taxes being heavier than formerly, they are lighter; and had they a mart for the exchange or sale of their grain, sugar, coffee, and pepper, &c., they would soon become rich, on account of the fertility of the land.

‡ It will be seen from this, that corn laws are an advantage to the small farmers as well as to the great land proprietors. The English farmer, besides, is differently situated from the French, Spanish, or Portuguese; if the corn fail them, they have their wine as a stand by. Moreover in England, the tradespeople do not, like the farmers, all deal in one article, on which their whole support depends. M. Necker

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the labourers receive by the operation of the poor laws, not so much according to their work as their wants; but in India nothing of the kind exists; it is an immense agricultural country, in which, from the seasons becoming more regular, from the greater care bestowed on cultivation, and from the tranquillity which it enjoys, the produce of the earth is becoming more and more abundant, while the precious metals are diminishing in even a faster ratio than the few manufactures it possessed. Mr. Rickards says, that if the trade be thrown open (I cannot understand this expression in any other manner than reducing the duty in England on East-India sugar, coffee, &c.) the exports of England to India will be increased to ten times their present amount; how this is to be the case while the landed revenue of the country is diminishing, and in some places the people objecting from sheer inability to pay it in money, is extraordinary; if the British government continue their present prohibitions on the raw and manufactured produce of Hindostan, while beggaring every artizan in the country by the introduction of cheap goods, the East-India Company may be soon without any revenue but that which they will receive in kind; for let it be remembered, the taxes in England are on consumption, those in India on land.*

Necker thus defends the system of corn laws in France: "Should a minister adopt a legislation for the commerce of corn? Love for the people will prevent his blindly abandoning that traffic to an excess of liberty; that he may prevent sudden starts in the price of subsistence; since those movements unattended to, not being followed immediately by a similar rise in the price of work, necessarily exposes those who live by their labour to real suffering."

* The philosophic Mill thus explains the effect of so monstrous a system as that of annihilating the manufacturing interest of an immense country, and making it one field of food: "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Mill, "that, by increasing every year the proportion of the population which you employ in raising food, and diminishing every year the proportion employed in every thing else, you may go on increasing food as fast as population increases, till the labour of a man upon the land is just sufficient to add as much to the produce as will maintain

The condition of India is not, therefore, to be judged of by its revenue system, but by the value which its surplus produce, whether corn, sugar, or coffee, will bring in a foreign market; yet England, though requiring remittances from India, will neither use these articles nor allow India to trade with continental Europe or America as an independent state. I will no longer pursue a topic which ought to make every person calling himself an Englishman, blush for the conduct of parliament* towards the Hindoos, the lamentable effects of which are seen in the fourth chapter, on the import trade from India. But I cannot close the chapter, without referring to an error (rather a popular one), respecting the effects of the metayer system in Italy. Mr. Rickards, in allusion to this subject, says (Lords, 3963), "the poverty of the cultivators is extreme, the cultivation is consequently in a low state, and far less productive than it would be if greater capital could

maintain himself and raise a family. But if things were made to go on in such an order till they arrived at that pass, men would have food, but they would have nothing else. There would be nothing for elegance, nothing for ease, nothing for pleasure. There would be no class exempt from the necessity of perpetual labour, by whom knowledge might be cultivated, and discoveries useful to mankind might be made. There would be no physicians, no legislators. The human race would become a mere multitude of animals of a very low description, having only two functions, that of raising food and that of consuming it. Many a reader may be startled to learn such truths. They are exposed to every Englishman in India, and will every day receive some new and strong corroboration."—*Supplement to Ency. Brit., article "Colony."*

* I must, of course, except the philanthropic President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Forbes, and many others: the motion which the worthy baronet has given notice of, namely, to reduce the duty on saltpetre from 6*d.* to 3*d.* per cwt.; on rice from 1*s.* to 6*d.* ditto; on pepper from 1*s.* to 6*d.* per lb. will not be supported in the house, and Sir Charles will have the mortification to find in this, as in very many other instances, his benevolent feelings and comprehensive policy are of little avail to the Hindoos, when opposed by selfishness, or narrow and impolitic principles; even Sir Charles' representation, that East-India coffee pays 9*d.* per lb. duty, while chicory root, with which it is adulterated, is only to pay 6*d.* per lb. by Mr. P. Thompson's customs bill, has been useless: this is a bad specimen of commercial legislation.

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be employed to improve it; but, in the present state of the cultivators, it appears to me quite impossible. The system in India is, in fact, very like what has been described in Europe under the denomination of the metayer system; it is a division of produce between cultivators and proprietors, the only difference being that in India the proprietors are the government, whilst in Europe there are individual proprietors deriving a net rent; but the cultivators under the metayer system being, like the ryots or cultivators in India, in a state of the most destitute and wretched poverty;* the condition of the latter may be judged of by comparing it with that of the former." The metayer system of Europe principally exists in Italy, it will be well therefore to investigate the state of farming there, and the condition of the cultivator, as Mr. Rickards has informed Parliament it may from thence judge of the "most wretched and destitute poverty" of the Hindoos.† I begin with Tuscany, a dukedom of 6,320 square miles area, with a population so great as 205 to the square mile, and yielding an annual revenue to the state of 9*s*. 8¼*d*. from each individual.

* Mr. Rickards delights to speak of the "most destitute and wretched poverty," (destitute poverty and wretched poverty) of the Hindoos, from what he saw of the wild inhabitants of Malabar, a quarter of a century ago. Let him walk down to Spitalfields, or drive to Manchester, and he will witness poverty, compared with which, India is a paradise; but if this be not sufficient, let him cross the Channel to Ireland, and he will find enough of "the most wretched and destitute poverty." Unfortunately for Mr. Rickards, the Irish are not under the government of the East-India Company; if they were, we should have heard, before this, of thousands subsisting upon sea-weed, or, like the savages of New Holland, prowling along the ocean shores in search of putrid fish! It is a wonder Mr. Rickards does not ascribe the state of the Irish to the "monopoly of the East-India Company."

† If Mr. Rickards were to visit Ceylon, particularly the Kandyan provinces, as the author of this work has done, he would witness a state of destitution which would shut his lips against the Company's Government. This magnificent island, as large as Ireland, does not contain

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The first author at hand, is an interesting tour through Italy, by Mr. James Cobbett (in 1829), who Mr. Rickards will admit to be a good judge of farming, and disposed to look narrowly into the condition of the people.

The system of farming in Tuscany, according to Mr. James Cobbett, is this: "The landlord finds all the capital, and he pays for half of what it may be necessary to risk, such as food for the farmer's cattle and manure for his land. For rent and for the interest of his capital, the landlord receives one-half of the profits of the farm. The farmer cultivates the land, and attends to the stock at his own expense." (P. 76.)

This is the general system in Italy, and its effects are thus narrated by James Cobbett, who describes farming on the Riviera as "a sort of farming in romance." He says, "great labour, and that too during ages of time, must have been endured to give hundreds of acres of the land its present shape," (p. 36). This is in allusion to the very sides of the mountains being cultivated, and the earth drilled in terraces supported by walls to prevent the soil being washed away by the rains from the mountain top. Speaking of Lucca he writes, "it is quite a treat to see its agriculture; it is not farming, it is literally market gardening all the way: not so much the appearance of a tract of country divided into farms, and farms subdivided into fields, as of one immense field divided into gardens, and gardens laid out into beds." Again he says, "we have nothing properly called farming, that is at all compared with the field culture

contain a million of inhabitants, nor grow rice sufficient for their support; and yet the authorities draw but one-tenth of the landed rental; his Majesty's government, however, made up for their abstemiousness with respect to the land, by taxing a great variety of other things; even the fish for market, which is caught in the rivers or in the sea, did not escape fiscal exaction. Add to which, the system of forced labour which I have witnessed in the province of Ouva, is a disgrace to the British name. Sir Wilmot Horton has indeed a fine field for the exercise of his liberal principles.

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displayed here,—there is scarcely an instance of failure, or any thing like patchiness in a crop, and every crop that is above ground shews that it has wanted nothing that the art of raising it and the industry of the artist could bestow. The side of every hill is cultivated in this way, every particular shews the most minute attention; many of the fields do not measure more than four or five square rods, and you will sometimes see thirty or forty of them all adjoining to one another, each being separately fenced in with vines trained to stakes or reeds; it would be hard to say whether it be the offerings of Bacchus or Ceres, that are here the most studiously solicited; some of the most luxurious crops of corn in the world are those which are grown here; the soil, however, must be an ungrateful one if it yield not the best of wine and corn, and if the enjoyment of nature's two choicest gifts in equal abundance be any where the right of human industry, the laborious and ingenious cultivators of the pretty little fields of Lucca may surely look upon it as due to them," (p. 107).

Speaking of the country about Naples, the same agreeable author says: "This, I take it, is about the perfection of Italian agriculture, though you do not see such great care and neatness as about Lucca and some other places."

This is certainly any thing but a picture of the 'most destitute poverty,' which Mr. Rickards asserts, with his usual recklessness, is the inevitable consequence of the metayer system; but let us follow Mr. Cobbett. In his tour of Pisa he says: "the sight of the farmers and the labouring men from the country, with their wives and daughters, is pleasing, they look so contented and happy: the country people are all very nicely dressed, all clean and neat," (p. 85). "The people are infinitely better off than we are," p. (149). Nicely dressed, and all clean, neat



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country people, with their wives smiling contentment, and their daughters laughing dimples and happiness, are fearful indications of poverty. The next extract will shew that their content is not that of the hog, which seeks nothing but the gratification of its appetite; the "wretched metayers" seem as independent in soul as in pocket. Discoursing on the lower orders, Mr. Cobbett remarks: "Servants and their employers are much more on a level than in England; when citizens go out to their country houses, as during the vintage, the family of a gentleman will sit down and play at cards along with their own domestics; there is no 'swinish multitude'—no 'basest populace;' the lowest class of society here have too much intelligence, and are too decent in their demeanour to deserve any such names," (p. 266).

Now as I know this will be thought an exaggeration by Mr. Cobbett, who plebeian-like, might love to speak well of the 'swinish multitude,' I will quote the remark of a patrician, whose work has opportunely presented itself; it is that of the "Diary of an Invalid," who subsequently died in the judicial seat at Ceylon, and who might be considered the antipode of Mr. Cobbett. "In Tuscany the very cottages are neat and ornamental, and there is in the dress and appearance of the peasantry something which bespeaks a sense of self-respect, and a taste for comforts, which will never be found where the peasantry is in a state of hopeless vassalage. The farms seem to be very small, seldom exceeding thirty acres:"—Diary of an Invalid, p. 252.

One short extract from Mr. Cobbett's pleasing work, and I have done with the volume, which I recommend Mr. Rickards to peruse, in order that he may learn the effects of the metayer system. "Lombardy," says Mr. Cobbett, "is almost one continued vineyard; here are all the beau-

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ties of agriculture; those of Italy with those of England, as far as possible, combined. The road over the level plains of Lombardy, is the very best I have ever seen in any part of the world; the public roads are excellent; they are good in all parts of this country that I have ever seen; there are no turnpike gates in Italy," (p. 356).

Professor Martyn, in his tour through Italy, thus writes: "The industry of the inhabitants has in many places made amends for the want of fertility in the mountains, which are in general covered with olives, vines, pomegranates, orange and lemon trees, or shaded with carob trees, and evergreen oaks, and adorned with buildings and gardens," (p. 67).

Again, this author says: "Provisions are plentiful and cheap; poultry, game, and fish are abundant; fruits and garden-stuff are to be had all winter; the wants of nature are so easily satisfied that the lower class of people work but little, their great pleasure is to bask in the sun and do nothing," (p. 264).

Speaking of the Lucca territory, he says: "An air of cheerfulness and plenty appears among the people, and their scanty soil is improved to the utmost; the mountains are covered with vines, olives, chestnuts, and mulberries; no beggars or idle people are to be seen; the country is ornamented with abundance of charming houses," (p. 347).

Of Vicensa: "The country flat and well cultivated; the crops, corn, maize, and grass; the wine of the Vicentine is good," (p. 379).

From Bologna to Venice, "the country well cultivated," (p. 354).

From Naples to Mola, "the country abounds in corn, vines, pomegranates, lemons, &c." (p. 298).

In fact, all the writers I have met with agree, that in Tuscany, the Milanese, and the Florentine states, &c. the



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land is divided into small parcels under the metayer system, presenting a richly cultivated aspect; yielding in four years three crops for the support of man, two crops for cattle, one fallow, and a crop of hemp, to which must be added wine, silk, fruit, vegetables, the produce of the farm-yard, and the profits of rearing and fattening stock; a farm of very moderate dimensions supporting a large family and twenty-two head of cattle; the silk made is worth about twenty-five louis d'or; the wine prepared is greater than the consumption requires; the crops of maize and beans nourish the labourers, and nearly the whole quantity of corn and the inferior articles may be carried to market.

Among the immense population* of Lombardy, where the economy of small farms is adopted, the soil is so perfectly cultivated, that neither space nor time are lost. The crops, as in other parts of Italy, are inclosed by lines of fruit trees of various kinds, interspersed with mulberry trees, poplars, and oaks, which support festoons of vines covered with a profusion of grapes, tinging all beneath them with their purple juice; rich corn-fields, beautiful verdure, lowing herds, neat commodious farm-houses, and a contented and joyous peasantry meet the eye at every step, from the foot of the Alps, to that of the Appenines.†

* Italy in 1812 possessed a population of 1,237 individuals to the square league, notwithstanding there are whole regions depopulated by reason of their unhealthiness,—the considerable space which the mountains and rivers occupy, and the want of manufactures or native commerce. With reference to the unhealthiness or depopulation of many parts of Italy which were formerly healthy and richly peopled, as adverted to in the beginning of the second chapter, I may remark that the marenna of Sienna, which was so fruitful that it furnished Rome with a large quantity of corn during the second Punic war (Pliny, Lib. IV. c. 52), on account of the present state of the air and water, is now waste and unpeopled.

† May not the prosperous condition of the lowest class of people in Italy account for the difficulty which every attempt to rouse them for the overthrow of the Austrian has met with? The difference between Italy and India consists, in the former having no tribute of four or

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In Italy, as in India, the great subdivision of the land has vested on the surface an immense floating capital of industry; four-fifths of the population are cultivators; there are but few day-labourers except in the large towns, the mass of the people being farmers on a small scale, the productive land absorbing any apparent surplus population as fast as it rises. In both countries we see splendid cities, the relics of a barbarous despotism fast sinking into decay, while humble but happy villages are rapidly encroaching on their nearly tenantless battlements; Rome and Delhi, Venice and Dacca, Pisa and Agra, are becoming heaps of mouldering ruins, from which, phœnix-like, arise the rustic cottages of an industrious and peaceful, but no longer servile population.

five millions sterling to pay to a distant country, while its manufactures are not destroyed by the inundation of foreign goods; and the lessened cultivation or fertility of the soil in neighbouring countries affords a profitable market for the disposal of the surplus produce of the Italian farmer, a resource which the Indian is denied.

# CHAPTER IX.

THE SALT MONOPOLY;—VINDICATION OF THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY BY A HINDOO;—REFUTATION OF MR. CRAWFURD AND MR. RICKARDS RESPECTING THE MOLUNGHEES, &c.;—UNGENEROUS POLICY OF ENGLAND TOWARDS THE HINDOOS;—EXAMINATION OF THE PRUDENCE OR JUSTICE OF SUPPLYING INDIA WITH BRITISH SALT.

In the last chapter I endeavoured to shew the effects of the landed revenue in India: I proceed now to examine the system of salt revenue in Bengal, where, on account of the Government having put a limit to the principal source of taxation (land), they are necessitated to raise an income from salt, because that article is consumed by the great mass of the people, reaching those whom the land-tax scarcely touches. This mode of providing for the exigencies of the state has not escaped the attacks of men who, in their eager partizanship or selfishness, have scrupled at nothing which might gain their object, but have endeavoured by every possible means, and by skilfully blending falsehood with truth, to deceive the public. I could, from personal knowledge, refute the assertions of Mr. Crawfurd and Mr. Rickards; but it will be thought, perhaps, more desirable if I submit to my readers extracts of letters written to me by a salt darogah (native officer) in Calcutta, which were published by the author of this work in a weekly journal which he established in Bengal in four languages (English, Bengallee, Persian, and Hindoo-

stanee*). These letters contain such a complete exposition of the "salt monopoly," that at the present moment, when the attention of the Select Committee of Parliament is specially directed to the subject, it would be unjust towards the East-India Company, and unfair towards the talented author, to clothe their substance in my own language.† The letters were republished in the different Indian journals, English and native, challenging investigation into the facts therein contained. The gauntlet was at last taken up by the editor of the *India Gazette*, the Rev. Mr. Adam, who candidly avowed "the familiar knowledge of details and the long experience which the salt darogah possessed, while no one had appeared in the field against him." The reverend gentleman finding it was not possible to refute admitted facts, attacked the Hindoo on the principles of political economy, and was thus replied to:—

* This journal was undertaken with a view to assist in elevating the native character; the projector of it was assisted by the most learned and liberal natives in Bengal; the native departments were conducted by men of high talent, and though its establishment has been a source of much misfortune to the author, he rejoices that he was by it not only enabled to aid the Indian Government in their efforts to suppress the suttees, but that he has also been the means of causing the abolition of corporal punishment in the Bengal European army; of effectually checking the practice of duelling; and the example which he set the natives of having one journal in two or more languages has been followed at Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. Individual suffering may well therefore be forgotten, when it is rewarded by the dissemination of general good.

† I have no hesitation in mentioning the name of the author, because he is a man who I believe never did an act which he would desire to disown, and whose munificent disposition is only equalled by his attachment to the British nation. Of his ability to state the facts in these letters, I refer to the evidence before the House of Lords, in which are published some of his letters as furnished by Mr. Rickards, illustrating the progress of the Hindoos in English literature; but I may also state, that I myself witnessed a great part of them dictated to the author's amanuensis; if any Hindoo be deserving of being raised to the highest rank in the state for integrity, talent, and fidelity, it is Dwarkanaut Tagore, whose services I trust the Honourable Company will amply remunerate.

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"Sir,—I am glad to see that the Editor of the *India Gazette* has at length taken up my gauntlet;—I am proud of my antagonist;—I am entirely satisfied with the tone of his remarks, and I shall be still more satisfied when he comes forward with facts against the salt monopoly, which I shall do my little possible to defend. Any man can declaim against any thing; but I want facts to shew, where, why, how, and to what extent the salt monopoly is deserving of censure more than any other tax. Even my being an indifferent political economist does not make it so, if it is not so in itself. I care not a fig, Mr. Editor, for the "other monopolies" of the East-India Company. I repeat, that the salt monopoly has been more abused than it deserves, and more abused than any other Indian monopoly whatever; and I will prove my assertion, that it has been more abused than it deserves, whenever its adversaries bring forward any tangible charge against it. As far as I can understand a science, the high priests of which disagree on so many important points, and only agree in one, *viz.* their own infallibility—all the maxims of political economy are not applicable, it appears to me, in this country, as society now exists. Let us try:

"'Competition,' says the Editor of the *India Gazette*, 'would increase the quantity manufactured, lessen the price, extend the consumption, and and to the comforts of the people.' This maxim is not, I suppose, confined to salt. Let, therefore, any liberal set of political economists exert their energies to encourage the manufacture of beef-soup for the poor Hindoos of Nepaul or Rajpootanah. Let them try to promote the sale of pork sausages for Mussulmans at Hydrabad. I would ask them, after a reasonable time, whether any competition on the part of the beef-soup makers, or creators of sausages, could, after the few European residents had been supplied, either lessen the price or extend the consumption of the above savoury and admirable condiments?

"Here are cases in which the maxims of political economy are inapplicable, owing to a particular state of society. In England both the beef-soup and the sausages would be materially reduced in price by competition, and the reduced price, and the large supply, would induce many to become consumers, who before only smelt those luxuries afar off, or devoured them in dreams: But will any man in his senses believe that *any* competition, *any* increase in the quantity produced, would extend the consumption in the cases I have supposed, or add to the comfort of the people of Hydrabad and Nepaul! Prythee, Mr. Editor, what is the grand dispute at this moment in England, touching free trade, low duties, &c.? Do you think that all the opponents of those principles, which I admire excessively, are idiots?

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Of course their antagonists will call them so, and moreover add that they are rascals, traitors, scoundrels, and so forth. This is doubtless the more approved mode of conducting argument; but 'fine words,' Mr. Editor, to use a simile of the divine Krishna, 'butter no parsnips.' I would ask if there are not men of great talent, sound sense, and long experience opposed to Mr. Huskisson's views? and is it not a doubt at this moment, whether, like the Frenchman's horse who was to live upon a straw a day, half the manufacturing classes will not be starved under the present experiments?—But in what does all this originate? Why, to any unprejudiced man it will appear plainly to originate in the state of society in England: for if that happy community who, without the aid of a governing Company, or a salt monopoly, are the most betaxed generation on earth, were free from those imposts which are the happy results of glory and the national debt, there would not—I'll wager the bone of the little finger of Krishna, which is positively at Juggurnauth—be one individual in the islands of Great Britain, found hardy enough to oppose either free trade or light duties.

"The above is another instance in which the maxims of political economy are inapplicable, or considered by many eminent men inapplicable, owing to a particular state of society. Here are 'human wants,' 'human motives,' 'human hopes and wishes' all crying out for a free trade, low duties, or no duties, for ever! Yet, on the one hand, some millions of silk throwsters and glove makers, and such raggamuffins, profess that they are about to be starved, which must be entirely a misapprehension on their parts, while on the other a vast body of able and upright gentlemen say that the principles of free trade, low duties, &c. are incompatible with the prosperity of Great Britain. As that country is now circumstanced, surely a Hindoo may be pardoned if misgivings of the same nature with regard to the inapplicability of many of the principles of political economy to society as it now exists in this country, do occasionally trouble his inwards. Mind, I pretend not to assert that the principles of political economy are false; I merely say, that in particular states of society they are not convertible from theory into practice; or, in other words, it is impossible to apply them in the real business of government or of life.

"But what do I see!—The Government Gazette for yesterday, the 20th inst. has just been put into my hand—pray Mr. Editor, have you a kind of Honourable United Company of Brewers who enjoy any share of the government of England, and who, as sovereigns, are enabled to enact laws against competition? If you have not, there is a most singular idea abroad. Lo! here it is.—'The Select Commit-

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tee on the state of the London Police ascribe to the cheapness of gin, a portion of the destructive influence by which the criminal calendar is of late years so frightfully enlarged: the inference is most likely to be correct,' &c. There must, however, be a cause for this cause, a reason for the people taking so much to gin of late years, 'instead of malt liquors, and it is supposed that this reason is sufficiently obvious in the Monopoly of the brewers, and to the temptation to which it has led of adulterating a wholesome beverage to such an extent, that the people, sooner than drink it, have recourse to more poisonous potations.'

"What, Mr. Editor,—a monopoly! a monopoly in a free country! and not a government in monopoly! a monopoly unprotected by legislative enactments! why the merest tyro in political economy will tell you that the thing is impossible, that is, impossible in *theory*. What the deuce has become of competition, is it prohibited to compete with brewers, or is the taste of mankind in England in favour of dear and bad beer, instead of good and cheap? Why in the name Nemesis, does not some good christian prevent all the evils attributed to 'adulterated' beer, and 'increase the quantity manufactured, lessen the price, extend the consumption, and add to the comforts of the people,' besides sparing them the disagreeable ceremony of being hanged occasionally? Surely there never could, according to political economy, be a fairer field for competition and all that sort of thing. Bad beer and a monopoly even of that—yet no competition comes, and all that can be done is to '*hang*,' and bear it.

"But let us take a look at the other side of the water, and see if all 'is well at Natchichosets.' There are your pleasant Yankee friends establishing their confounded tariff in utter defiance, and, as it were, in pure spite of political economy. Now I knew Ram Dulall Dey very well, and he was wont to tell me that the estimable Jonathan was a lad as likely to look after his own interests as any youth in Christendom. The national character is shrewd, sagacious, and calculating. There is no lack either of practical or theoretical philosophers, still less of merchants, quite aware of their own interests, in the Union. The press is as free as air, and the government represents the wish and will of every man in the States, from the patroon of Albany to the blacksmith's apprentice. Yet what do all these people do? set political economy at defiance, and turn their backs upon its precepts with the most provoking indifference; of course they are all fools, madmen, asses, traitors, idiots, and such other soft terms as your veritable sage always applies to men who cannot enter into his views, if those are theoretical: for there is nothing about which philosophers are so intolerant as a theory; but perhaps on the bank of the Ohio and Hud-

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son, they imagine that the precepts of political economy are not applicable to the existing state of society. I don't say that they are right in this supposition, or that the maxims of political economy bearing on the subject are wrong;—I only say, that where so many wise men, in the thinking and enlightened land of Franklin and Washington, of Fulton, of Adam, and Munro, seem to doubt the applicability of the principles of political economy to the existing state of society in America, I may be permitted to doubt if all its maxims are applicable in this or in any other country.

"The Editor of the *Indian Gazette* says, 'The zemindar would manufacture just that quantity of salt, which appeared to him likely to afford the highest rate of profit.' Perhaps the United Company of Merchants, who carry on a trade in these parts which surpasseth all human understanding, would not neglect to do the same, but letting that pass we will suppose a case, *viz.* the salt manufacture to be in the hands of the zemindar:—in *that* case, woe be to the people, and woe to the theories of the political economists, as applicable to all mankind, in whatever state of society they may exist! For experience has proved that the largest revenue has *not* accrued to Government from the sale of the largest quantity of salt. One of two inferences must be drawn from this fact, either that the supply is too large, a singular complaint against a monopoly, or that the theories of the politicals are no more applicable to salt in this country *now*, than they would have been to corn in England in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when, as the supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica says, there was a glut in one country at the very period there was a famine in the next.

"But to return to the fact, though reluctant to let the foeman too far into the bowels of the land (which expression I take to mean the gut of Gibraltar), before we really join battle, with the thundering of the captain, and the shouting, I will tell him thus much: In 1821-22 forty seven lacs of maunds of salt were sold, and the net revenue was sa. rs. 1,34,72,000. In 1822-23 the same quantity of forty-seven lacs produced a net revenue of rs. 1,45,48,000 Now, a larger quantity —for remember the cry has always been, that the people are deprived by this monopoly (whose small tripes are of iron and whose milk of human kindness is vitriolic acid) of a sufficient supply of salt. Well, as I said, a large quantity ought, *at least according to theory*, to have produced the same revenue. In 1823-24, therefore, fifty lacs of maunds were sold—what was the result? why, the tax produced *less*, by twelve lacs of rupees, than when forty-seven lacs of maunds were sold. The next year 1824-25, forty-eight lacs of maunds were sold; and the tax still netted twenty-seven lacs of rupees *less* than when forty-seven lacs of maunds were sold; now what would have been the conduct of private individuals in such a case? (the zemindars for in-

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stance, who formerly made salt in Bengal?) Why they would have said naturally and pathetically, 'Blow us tight, blow us tight my hearties, but this will never do, the more salt we sell, the less money we make, let us return incontinent to the old forty-seven lacs of maunds a year; those were the days for feathering our nests.' The goddess of salt, whom I look upon to be Lot's wife, would have smiled on their determination, and all nature have 'worn a universal grin.' But what did the rulers of the land do? 'why,' says they, 'by Jingo! we had better risk our revenue than the comfort of our subjects; some say they get no salt to their porridge; let us try once more.' In 1825-26 then, fifty lacs of maunds were again sold—what was the result? why the revenue was still *less* by eleven lacs of rupees than from forty-seven lacs of maunds.*

"I have many more curious and important facts on this subject, but enough for the present. I deploy not my masses, neither do I offer my heavy guns until the columns of the enemy with loud cries of '*Vive l'économie politique*,' are advancing to the charge. In the meantime, however, I will shew him fairly the position which I intend to maintain in a most heroic manner, that he may reconnoitre it at his leisure.

"I uphold no monopolies as such; I do not think that the salt monopoly is more full of 'blessed conditions' than any other tax; blessed conditions! blessed fig's end!! Why the very name of any tax is ipecacuanha to the soul of a freeman; and I do assure you, Mr. Editor, that I heartily wish customs, income tax, corn laws, salt tax, tax upon little dogs, hair powder, and landed property, all most especially at the devil, wherever such abomination may happen to exist! But while we must have presidents and members of congress, and judges and kings, and chokeydars and generals, and light-houses and sailors, and soldiers, we must 'holus bolus,' as Homer says, raise money to pay them; for none of those creatures, strange as it may appear, will work without pay, any more than an agent or a lawyer.

"I am very sorry that such a base love of filthy lucre should influence mankind, but I really cannot help it; and so as I said, as the cobbs, the dibbs, the cole, the chelli boards, the aurum, or, in short, the needful, must be spelled in before it can be spelled out, I hold a poor opinion, that it is as well, if not better, collected through the medium of the salt monopoly, than any other mode that could be devised for the production of an equal revenue.

* These letters were, I am given to understand, perused by Lord William Bentinck, whose intense anxiety for the welfare of India is above all praise. Were it possible to make a change in the system with advantage to the public and to the state, I am convinced it would be adopted.

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"I believe that I have ever maintained,* that the opinions entertained of the forced manufacture of salt were erroneous, and that the ideas concerning the extreme misery of that class of people called Molunghees, as compared with any other peasantry in India, were equally so.

"That the salt monopoly and the native salt officers had been more abused and misrepresented than was consistent with truth or justice, and that the monopoly itself was, as a tax, one of the best that could be devised; easy of collection, as little burthensome to the people as a tax can ever be, very productive, cheaply gathered, and gathered without the direct intervention of a taxing man. In short, that it possessed every possible good quality, capable of being possessed by an instrument for obtaining revenue, without which, I presume, no man will assert that any government, better, good, or bad, can progress slick, as Jonathan hath it.

"Those are the positions I have adopted, and those, with the aid of my worthy ally, 'A Covenanted Salt Officer,' I will maintain: we will charge abreast, as did the native and European cavalry at Assye; and although we may, as our prototypes did on that memorable occasion, suddenly eschew the bayonets and bullets of the Mahratta infantry (to wit, the *India Gazette* and the *Bengal Hurkaru*), every body crying out 'halt' at the same time; though I say we should even receive a routing on the field of political economy, yet in defence of our main post, our key, our Hougemont, our Corry Gaur, *viz.* the excellencies of the salt monopoly, as a 'good, easy' tax, we will combat to death.

"But before I conclude, Mr. Editor, let me, for I have compassionate bowels, bestow a little comfort to all those who sit down and weep over the miseries of the said monopoly. I will wager the little finger I before mentioned that the whole monopoly might be done away with as easily as you wipe the figures from a slate. Let any meritorious gentleman put his hands in his breeches pocket, like a crocodile, and walk to the India-House; let him get *vis-à-vis* with the Supreme Government, and say, 'Madam, may it please your Worship, I know your honour and your honour's James Mill† don't like the salt monopoly. Now here is something in my hand for the benefit of the poor people of India, being a scheme by which your ladyship's honour can easily raise as much revenue as you do by the salt monopoly, without resorting to that bloody, barbarous, atheistical, and entirely and altogether destructive tax both to the body and soul; my only condition is,

* This letter was written subsequent to the letters which will be hereafter quoted.

† The writer will find, by Mr. Mill's evidence in October last, that he rightly views the question as one of revenue, not of a trading monopoly.

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that if you find you can raise the said revenue, you will abandon for ever that abomination which is a stink in the nostrils of humanity.'

"Then should the meritorious gentleman, with his hands in his breeches' pocket, see her honour's ladyship stretch out her hind foot, and kick the whole salt monopoly, with all its imps, from Bengal to the Coppermine river, before you could say, 'Peas.'

"'Here we break off at this auspicious word.' Next week I will perhaps give you a few more remarks, in reply to the worthy Editor of the *India Gazette*'s observations.

"In the meantime, I am your's, &c.

"A SALT DAROGAH.

"Calcutta, 21st July 1829."

There are many important questions developed in the foregoing letter: the writer, in the first place, shews that political economy is in reality a science of immeasurable extent—that it embraces an investigation of the action and reaction of many natural, local, political, civil, and accidental causes; for the better ascertainment of which, particularly in Hindostan, it is necessary to bring into calculation the effects of manners and prejudices, of vices and virtues. The salt darogah justly observes, that all the competition in the world would not increase the sale of beef-soup among the Hindoos, nor of pork-sausages among the Mahomedans, and he might have added, nor of skates and leather breeches* among the Bengallees. To be sure, Mr. Crawfurd and Mr. Rickards assert—(they do not attempt to *prove* it)—that the infallible maxims of political economy are just as applicable to salt as to wine or sugar, and as well suited to the meridian of Bengal or Constantinople as to Paris or London. It is forgotten that salt can

* Vide Mr. Hume's speech in parliament, 3d August 1832, which describes the misplaced philanthropy of an Indian judge, when being carried on shore by the natives, who from custom and the heat of the climate wear nothing but a cloth round their loins, which so shocked the benevolent feelings of the judge, that he exclaimed, "Poor fellows, before one week I will cause a law to be passed by which they shall all be obliged to wear leather breeches!"

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only be used in one way,* and in a small quantity; that a man at twenty years of age consumes no more salt than a man at sixty; but sugar for instance is of extensive use in drink as well as in food; it may be manufactured with other ingredients into wine, vinegar, ale, &c.; it will of itself support life, which salt will not, and by habit, individual consumption may be very much augmented. These principles are not sufficiently attended to by financiers in levying or augmenting duties; for instance, a reduction took place in England on pepper, but the revenue did not increase, for the supply was nearly if not fully equal to the demand, and pepper being an article which a person would consume no more of than he does at present if he obtained it for nothing, no extended consumption could be expected from lessening the duty; but coffee being an article which came not within the scope of the majority, or tobacco, or wine, or brandy being stimulants, which require from year to year a greater supply to meet the palled palates or vitiated appetites of those who use them extensively, an increased consumption and revenue has always ensued on diminished duty. It is probable that the Bengal Government were aware of these principles, but, yielding to popular clamour, resolved to try the effects of augmenting the quantity offered for sale, or in other words of lowering the duty; 47,00,000 maunds of salt having brought a revenue of rupees 1,45,48,000, an experiment was tried as to how much 50,00,000 maunds would produce, and the result was rupees 12,00,000 minus on the lesser quantity of salt. In the succeeding year 1824-25, the Bengal Government tried 48,00,000 maunds, but the revenue fell off still more, netting 27,00,000 less than when

* I am referring to its use as an article of diet; in Bengal it is not required for agriculture, on account of the general saline qualities of the land, the surface of which in many places is covered with salt-petre; and the numerous plants impregnated with salt, which the country produces, yields abundance of that condiment for cattle.

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47,00,000 maunds were sold; still the Government persevered, and in 1825-26 they sold 50,00,000 maunds, but still at a loss of rupees 11,00,000 on the 47,00,000 maunds!

At Madras the government revenue on salt, which is levied in the shape of an excise duty, rapidly diminished when the duty was lowered, both instances practically evincing that the supply was fully equal to the demand.* The salt in Bengal is offered for sale by public auction in Calcutta monthly, at the public exchange rooms; Europeans as well as Asiatics may purchase, and there is the freest and most extensive competition; the sales, indeed, much resemble those of tea at the India-House, in both of which places there is as much outcry and eagerness, as if the tea or the salt were to be given away for nothing.

The Government in offering a quantity of salt for sale, are guided by the quantity of stock remaining in store uncleared, and by the retail price in the different markets throughout the country, which is ascertained by means of local officers; three months' time is allowed for paying and clearing out the salt purchased at the auction, and if left after that time, warehouse rent is charged. It is said, that a sub-monopoly is the great evil of the present system; this was tried once by a man named Ram Rutton Mullick, but he was speedily ruined by the other natives, and a splendid bazar which he built on the strand road with all the faultlessness of Grecian columns, &c. is still a dreary waste, and warning to similar monopolists, for as the author of the "Further Enquiry" candidly says, in his attacks on the "other monopolies" of the East-India Company, "a

* Mr. Mangles states in his evidence (Lords, 4th March 1830): "I have never heard complaints that the natives have not had enough of salt; no native ever told me he had not enough of salt." Mr. Swinton says he "does not think it would be possible to increase the salt revenue by increasing the quantity supplied to the people."—(Lords, 26th February 1830.)

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natural monopoly requires no justification; one judiciously selected and regulated for the sake of the public revenue, like those of salt and opium, may be useful and unobjectionable; but one imposed for the benefit of individuals, be they few or many, cannot but be a nuisance and a grievance;" p. 17.

In the event of the Company abandoning the present system, the native zemindars, who are proprietors of the salt lands, would inevitably do that which the author of the "Further Enquiry" deprecates, *viz.* create a private monopoly; this they would be enabled to do, by reason that many millions of their countrymen will only eat the Pungah salt, which is to be manufactured in particular spots; this fact is thus alluded to by the salt Darogah in one of his letters to me:—

"Sir: In continuing my communications on the subject of the salt monopoly, I must pray of those who pay any attention to them always to keep in mind the following fact, namely, that the salt manufacture must have remained a species of monopoly, whether it continued in the hands of the zemindars, who alone possessed land favourably situated, or whether the right of using those lands for the same purpose was purchased from the original proprietors by Government. This can readily be understood by those who will hold in recollection two circumstances; first, that the Pungah salt is only to be manufactured in particular spots, and cannot be produced any where else; second, that the mass of the people will only eat that description of salt which is manufactured at those places, or, in other words, which includes some portion of the sacred Ganges in its composition: thus, therefore, the proprietors of the tracts alluded to can, with very little contrivance, maintain a monopoly which no importation could interfere with; because, as I have explained, the majority of the consumers will not, from a religious prejudice, eat imported salt.

"An attempt was lately made to establish a sub-monopoly by a rich fundholder purchasing the entire amount of salt put up for sale. Such an endeavour, in the present state of the salt system, can only involve the experimentalist in ruin; but had it been in the power of any individual or company to employ a similar capital in the purchase or hire of the lands on which salt is produced, and, owing to the



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improvidence of the zemindars, such an arrangement would be far from difficult to great capitalists, a true monopoly would have been established, unsoftened and unredeemed by one atom of that anxiety which a government must naturally feel to combine as far as possible, and for its own sake, the comfort of the subject with the realization of the public revenue.

"It may be said that the holders of the salt lands would produce as much of the article as possible, for their own profits' sake; but this supposition involves another, *viz.* that my countrymen would be influenced by the reasons which actuate Mr. Huskisson or Mr. Mill. So far from increasing the produce and adding to the comforts of the people by raising the utmost revenue upon the largest possible quantity of salt, the zemindars, it may be fairly assumed, with reference to the notions and habits of that class generally, would have endeavoured to raise the same revenue upon the smallest possible quantity of salt, both from indifference to the general comfort, and because their outlay, their trouble, and their risk would be in every respect less.

"It is a bold thing to assert, but I, as a native, will venture to say, that all the principles of political economy, though seemingly based on those of nature, are not applicable in this country, as society now exists in it. I will offer a case in point, and then proceed with my disquisition on the salt revenue. An eminent shipbuilder in this city, imagining that he should expedite the operations of his workmen at a period when business was pressing, by paying them by the job or piece, instead of by the day, introduced that mode of remuneration, on a liberal scale, in his dock-yard. What was his astonishment at the end of a week, to discover that less work had been done by men who could remunerate themselves according to their own pleasure, and at the expense of a little extra attention to it, than by the same individuals when paid at a fixed weekly salary. Such a circumstance would scarcely be credited in England, where the principal objection to paying labourers by the job or piece has been, that they would overwork themselves, to the immediate injury of their health, and the destruction of their future prospects. This fact may not appear altogether applicable to the subject I am discussing; but I advert to it to shew that opinions which have become infallibly axioms in Europe, are not to be relied on in India." SALT DAROGAH.

The assertion thus made by the salt darogah is corroborated by the Hon. Andrew Ramsay; in his evidence before the Lords, 29th April 1830, he says, "the salt lands are possessed by the zemindars generally, as their property,

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so that if the Company were to give up the monopoly, the land would fall into the possession of men who would have the sole power of making salt;* in the district where I was the lands were generally possessed by two people, the Rajah of Tumlook and the Rajah of Mysadul; I paid a sum every month to these people of about five or six thousand rupees, as a remuneration for the lands that were appropriated to the salt manufacture." "The natives do not complain of the monopoly; I conceive it would be a very dangerous experiment to try its abolition, the monopoly would fall into the hands of some persons."

With respect to the Pungah or sacred salt, which is so eagerly sought at the Calcutta sales, but which Mr. Crawfurd looks to supplanting by means of Liverpool salt, Mr. Ramsay observes, "many natives of high caste would rather starve than eat the salt from this country; no Hindoo of good caste would eat any thing from on board ship. Mr. Crawfurd, with a despotism which is highly characteristic of liberalism in the present age, would prevent the natives of Bengal using that which is "produced by boiling the dirty and slimy brine of the pestiferous marshes at the estuary of the Ganges;"† but it is correctly observed by the Honourable Mr. Ramsay, when asked by the Lords Committee if the salt made at the estuaries of the Ganges is "to be compared with the salt eaten in this country?" "I think," said Mr. Ramsay, "it is very far superior,"

* The general tenor of the testimony before Parliament is, that it would be impossible to substitute an excise for the existing system, at least for the present. The immense establishment which would be required for the prevention of smuggling would cost more than the revenue from salt would yield. Mr. Crawfurd, to be sure, says, in one part of his pamphlet, that the Bengallies are too timid (p. 50) a race to become smugglers; but in another place he asserts that smuggling in salt is now carried on to a frightful extent (p. 30), and he desires a return of the persons prosecuted for this offence, and condemned to hard labour or banishment.

† Monopolies of the East-India Company, p. 9.



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(3448). "In what respects?" "It is not so bitter as the English salt" (3449). "Is it better than our refined salt?" "I should think better than any European salt." From chemical analysis I am enabled to substantiate this evidence; the salt of Bengal containing much less, indeed scarcely any of the sulphurate of soda, or bitter principle, which is so largely mixed up in the English, and even in the bay salt of the Coromandel or Malabar coast; this Mr. Crawfurd admits in a certain degree, though he errs in assigning the just reason; he says, "the natives of Bengal, for the most part, have a prejudice against the bay salt of Coromandel, on account, in some degree, of its want of pungency and strength, but probably still more from its want of whiteness, and from the largeness of its crystals, and consequent unfitness for culinary purposes."* The just preference of the Bengallees for a pure salt, Mr. Crawfurd, with his usual ingeniousness, turns into a prejudice; and with his general inconsistency he alleges, that "the Indians of Bengal, from time immemorial, have never had any thing but dear and bad salt, and to say, therefore, that they have no taste for what is good, and what is cheap, is sheer absurdity;"† immediately after he declares, that "a bushel of Coromandel bay salt is worth, at the monopoly sales in Calcutta, 4*s*. 11*d*.; a bushel of Bengal salt is worth 5*s*. 8*d*.; of Cuttack salt, which is whiter than ordinary Bengal salt, and in a good measure also obtained by boiling, 6*s*.; and of Arracan salt, which is the whitest of all, and entirely procured by boiling, 6*s*. 1¼*d*.;" and yet in another page he asserts that the salt sold by the Company is "an ugly compound which a respectable farmer in this country would not give to his hogs."‡ But from Mr. Crawfurd's own shewing it appears, that the natives have a prejudice in favour of the Company's salt, and that they will even give

* Page 40. † Page 35. ‡ Page 14.

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a higher price for it than for the large crystallized bay salt of Coromandel !* If Mr. Crawfurd had his will he would take care that the Hindoos should use no salt but that made by his friends at Liverpool; but of this anon. Lest this worthy advocate of the natives of India, who would throw one million of Bengallees out of employment for the sake of his European compeers, should fail in one point of attack, he has, like a good general, other reserves in store ; the first I shall notice is, the "abominable oppression of the Molunghees (salt manufacturers) in Bengal, by the dewans or native agents," who, it is said, "exercise oppressions, horrible beyond any thing ;"† the horrible oppressions are thus detailed :

"Whenever a ryot (cultivator) in the salt districts [what! Mr. Crawfurd, will ryots voluntarily live in the swampy, slimy, pestiferous salt marshes to be eaten up by tigers ?] becomes so much embarrassed as to be able to go on no longer without extraordinary aid, he is tempted by the salt agent's dewan to take the Company's advances for salt. Woe be to him, for from that moment he is a bondsman for life, without the possibility of extrication! By cheating him in the weight of the salt delivered, and squeezing him in various ways, he is made invariably to fall short of his deliveries by his contract; further extortions are made for the pretended concealment of this, and usurious interest charged till the following season, when, from the advances of the latter, the debts of the former are deducted. It is easy to see to what a state of dependence and abject slavery the dewan soon reduces the unfortunate wretch whose necessities induced him to

* Mr. Holt Mackenzie says, in his evidence during the present year, "In the salt or opium department, I confess I greatly doubt the expediency of any considerable change of system." I will say nothing in the present work on the opium monopoly as it is called; it is in fact a tax levied on the Chinese consumer of the drug, and is at present in a precarious state; the system of levying a duty at Bombay on the exportation of the article, has failed in a revenue point of view; whether it will be possible to keep up the Bengal system while Bombay is so differently situated, is another question. I had intended to examine the financial state of the East-India Company, but was necessitated to defer entering on so elaborate a subject at the conclusion of a work thus unavoidably complex and long.

† Page 10.

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take the first fatal advance. He indeed makes him believe that his children's children are bound for his debt to the government; and his victim, ground by oppression to the last extremity, is forced to get his morsel of rice by selling the salt, which he had agreed to deliver to the agent, to smugglers. In some of the districts the evils of the system being well known to the European agent, he is obliged, in mercy, indirectly to encourage the sale of salt, by the Molungees, to smugglers, beyond the quantity they engage to deliver to him, as the only means of enabling the people to live, or to deliver to him what they had agreed to do. A great source of loss to government is the tendency of the Molungees to escape, in spite of the vigilance of the dewan; and as he is responsible for the advances made, in order to save himself, he reports a certain number carried away by tigers every year. It is well known that the tigers do carry off a few every year, but it is equally well known that nine-tenths of those reported to have been carried off by tigers have made their escape."*

This is a terrible attack on the native agents, and I can offer no better reply to it than by quoting one of the salt darogahs inimitable letters, in which he thus removes the foul aspersion cast on his countrymen:

"Sir,—In my last I promised to endeavour to remove some of the odium which has been cast with so liberal a hand upon the native officers of the salt department. It is easily accounted for. The name of a monopoly is unpopular, with about as much reason in the present instance, as the name of witchcraft was sure to rouse wrath and red flames in your country about a century and a half ago. It was quite enough then to call an old woman a witch, and have her ducked in a standing pool. It is quite enough now to call a man a salt officer, consequently an agent in the salt monopoly; and if he is not immediately bespattered with all manner of dirty abuse by you liberal English, it is because the Europeans, generally, are imperfectly acquainted with the language of the country.

"Do not suppose, however, that I am going to challenge all mankind in defence of the impeccability of native officers of any description. It would truly be fighting for less than a shadow, for a shadow does exist, and we Bengallys are not a race who pride ourselves upon fighting for fighting's sake.

"I will, therefore, at once concede that native officers, as a body, are almost as bad as the Europeans were some sixty years ago, before

* Crawfurd's Monopolies of the East-India Company, page 10.

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their allowances were fixed on a liberal scale by the wise Earl Cornwallis. I say 'almost' advisedly, for few thannadars, aumeens, or salt darogahs can retire from the service with three or four crores of rupees, proceed to the Rajpoot states, build a palace or two, and take their seat in the national assembly of thakoors. Yet parallel cases were by no means rare amongst the Europeans of old, at a period when a member of council got two hundred pounds per annum, and another hundred, personal allowance, if he happened to write a good hand, or understand the mystery of book-keeping by single and double entry.

"Many of my countrymen used to abuse your ancestors sadly, on account of the little obliquities in their cash proceedings. And some of the young natives, being fiery and just from school, would have designated the female relations of the English by opprobrious names, and, moreover, expressed their detestation of their pecuniary errors by the application of shoe-soles and bamboos; but the elders and the more considerate part of the community said, 'Let them alone, poor fellows, they have no knowledge of Vishnoo; and besides they are very badly paid, which, in situations of great temptation, is a circumstance not favourable to honesty. Let them alone, and don't abuse their sisters; if ever they should be sufficiently remunerated, to place them beyond the necessity of being rogues for a livelihood, they will do very well.'

"Time has rolled on, and the prognostics of our ancestors have been fulfilled.

"In the circumference of the globe you will not, in all probability, find a body of men possessing so much power, exposed to so many temptations, yet so full of honourable feelings, so free from selfish considerations, so upright, and so truly conscientious in the discharge of their duties as the Indian civil service. The juniors, to be sure, do occasionally exhibit out-breaking of a noble impetuosity, and the seniors are apt (Bishop Heber says) to refuse chairs to the magnates of the land, and to treat with dignified disdain the rajahs and nawaubs whose country they have condescended to occupy; but great allowance must be made for national ferocity, and that granted, there can be no doubt but that the English civil servants in India are, to those beneath them, and in all their dealings, the most noble-minded, high-spirited, upright, disinterested, and disagreeable beings in creation. Notwithstanding, however, my exalted opinion of the civil service, of its scrupulous honour and spotless integrity as a body, I fear I could scarcely hope to see it retain that high character if the salaries of its members were suddenly reduced to an equality with those granted to nazeirs of magistrates, cutcherries, sudder aumeems, ghaut officers, salt darogahs, and sherishtadars of all kinds. I do not speak confi-

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dently on this subject, as it is possible that the majority of the reduced would rather eat dried peas and wear doo-sootee breeches, than follow the example of their predecessors of old, but I confess I should not like to see the experiment tried.

" On the other hand, it would be but fair play to abstain from vituperating native officers generally, until they are placed above the reach of temptation; rather say, as our ancestors did of old, concerning your's, 'Poor fellows! their lights are not quite so bright as our's; their temptations are many, and their emoluments are small.' If any one thinks that such sentiments would be undignified in a Christian, I am a poor native, and will be glad to receive instruction on the subject.

" In what I have written I have, I trust, made no reprehensible effort to whitewash native officers generally; my endeavour has been to shew why they are not so upright as others, whose meat and drink it is to abuse them.

" *Distich.*

" Oh, peacock! abuse not the crow. Were thy feathers on his back, he would be as handsome a bird as thou art; were his feathers on thy back, thou wouldst be as ill-favoured a bird as he is. The pot called the kettle blackguard; but he knew not how bright she would shine in the hands of the scourer.

" I admit that the native officers of government are not altogether unimpeachable on the score of integrity, though there are many, many noble exceptions to the rule; but I will not admit that the erroneous impressions which have led to a belief that the salt officers are worse than the others are at all founded in truth, for this one reason, if no other existed: they cannot be screened by their superiors, nor can they profit by keeping those superiors in the dark, because the investigation of their conduct is especially reserved for other tribunals.

" A gentleman in the civil service of the Honourable Company, upon the strength of living a few days in the Sunderbunds, and probably from not meeting with all the subserviency he expects from the salt officers, when he endeavours to carry his own official views into effect, to the detriment of that department whose interests they are appointed to watch over; this gentleman, I say, brings a sweeping accusation against all salt officers, asserting, amongst other things, that the dewan of the smallest salt agency appropriates to himself, at least, one lac of rupees annually; of course, the dewan of other larger agencies enjoy a proportionately enhanced rate of peculation.

" Now, although there are many modes of combating these vague opinions, I shall in refuting them confine myself to the very premises which the acute discoverer of abuses advances:

" If a dewan in the lowest agency receives one lac of rupees annually, the other native officers attached to the agency (of whom there

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are no less than three hundred in a small one) must proportionably obtain two lacs to be divided among them. In an agency of the extent above named, the expense of government is about five lacs of rupees, including the price of the salt establishment, agent's commission, kalary rents, &c. &c. If, therefore, such a large sum as three lacs be abstracted, where would be the means of paying the Molungees for the manufacture of the salt? Will they supply it to government gratis? Unlike other government departments, there are no outstanding balances against the Molungees (with the exception of one aurung), as we see in the commercial department, where there are lacs upon lacs of outstanding balances, the realization of which will probably never take place; nevertheless, we hear nothing of the other departments, while abuse is not unsparingly bestowed on the native salt officers, who are looked on with a malignity only equalled by the fallacious views that dictated it. I only regret that the civil servant, already alluded to, should have left this country for England, before I have been enabled to convince him on what insufficient grounds his opinions were formed.

"Some more moderate gentlemen kindly state that only twenty-five per cent. is abstracted from the Molungees, for which extremely liberal opinion they are deserving of gratitude

"I shall, however, proceed to examine the basis of this allegement, which may be demonstrated to be incorrect on its own statement.

"Can it be supposed for an instant, that any class of people, however low in the scale of civilization, would, to the number of one million, submit, from year to year, for a long period, to such an imposition as the abstraction of twenty-five per cent. from their wages, without having brought it to the notice of the higher authorities?

"The advances to the Molungees are made in the presence of the salt agents, and the accounts settled also before them, and whatever balance is due to the manufacturers is paid to them at the same time; now it must be believed that any extortion occurring would be secret. I ask, then, is it to be credited, that these people would not come forward and present a petition to the agents? And if I may carry my supposition, for argument's sake, so far as to believe that the agents have connived at the Omlahs, will the Molungees not appeal to the higher authority of the Board of Customs of salt and opium? to the Governor General in Council, whose ears cannot be closed against such details? Government, also, with a view to provide against the extortion of the officers, have enacted a special regulation, LXIII. Section VI. Regulation X. of 1819, wherein it empowers the magistrate to refund to the Molungees any money that may have been extorted, and authorizes the infliction of the punishment of imprisonment for

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six months of the extortioner, with a penalty to be levied, not exceeding five hundred rupees, and a dismissal from office.

"By a reference to the magisterial records, there will hardly a case be found where this sentence has been put in execution. Most of my European readers are conversant sufficiently with the habits of my countrymen to know that the lower orders of Hindoos are eager enough for the acquisition of one pice, and it is not at all likely that they would endure for a moment such an injustice with impunity. Observe how the ryots, for much less cause, are at variance with the indigo planters; and even in some districts magistrates, with all their power, are unable to prevent disputes, which arise principally from money transactions, of a less amount than that which the Molungees are said to be deprived of. I do not deny that there is a dustoree given to the native officers by the Molungees, but then it is of their own free will, and when they have manufactured a large quantity of salt; but this is a habit that exists in every other department, even in the service of the merchants; or if a private individual send a sircar to the bazar to purchase a piece of cloth or a ream of paper. This practice, however injurious it may be considered, has been so long established, that its prevention, I fear, would prove very difficult.

"In short, let any dispassionate and unprejudiced person consider the following facts, and he will probably arrive at a conclusion, that if the salt officers are not better, they are certainly not worse than other native officers, as it has been asserted and believed; believed, because as I have observed before, it is easier to credit an ill-natured report than to inquire into its truth or falsehood.

"1st. The salt officers, when accused of extortion, have no opportunity to blind or take advantage of the favour of their immediate superior to stifle inquiry, for the case is not to be investigated by him but by a separate authority, armed with the highest judicial power.

"2d. That authority not only punishes the offender, if found guilty, but is empowered to restore at once the money extorted from the injured party. Let any one consider this circumstance for a moment, and recollect that in all other departments, though the offender, being a public officer found guilty of extortion, is punished, yet the complainant must institute a separate suit for the recovery of the amount extorted.

"3d. The Molungees cannot be compelled to take advances in a manufacture. If the salt officers were extortionate, therefore, in the year 1233, there would be no manufacture in the year 1234; for it is mere folly to suppose that men would give up quietly, and for year after year, three-fifths of the price authorized to be paid to them for their salt, or even twenty-five per cent. on that sum.

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"4th. I know an instance at the Bulloo agency in 1822, when the Molungees stood out for the fractional part of an anna per maund of salt, and would not commence work until it was conceded to them. Are these the men to give nine annas or four annas out of every rupee to the native officers?

"5th. The Molungees have to lay in fuel, buy boiling pots, and build kallaries yearly. Are these things done for nothing? or do the wood-cutter, the potter, and the builder do their work at half price, or less, as the Molungee must do, if he be so egregiously plundered by the salt omlah, as has been all but sworn to? Let any man, I repeat, give an honest and unbiassed attention to these facts, and then assert, if he can, that it is probable the native salt officers should be worse than other native officers; they will all be better when the jewels of gram scheed are discovered by the joint magistrate of Palibothra, and the Honourable Company are enabled to adopt for their native servants a graduated scale of allowances of from 2,50,000 to to 3,60,000 per annum. I am, Sir, your's obediently,

"A Salt Darogah."

Mr. Crawfurd is, I believe, not unknown to the writer of the foregoing letter, I therefore leave him to chew the cud of reflection after perusing it; but as this weeper for the miseries of the Molunghees, who he says are "in considerable numbers, according to the official returns, carried off by tigers and alligators" seems so reckless of truth, in his eagerness to vilify the Company,* and as he either copies Mr. Rickards' language, or Mr. Rickards copies his,† I will prove the falsity of their assertions by the

* At page 51 of the Salt Monopoly pamphlet, Mr. Crawfurd assigns what he terms the strongest reasons for a 'free-trade' in salt at Bengal thus: "one of the most valuable results of a free-trade in salt will be the emancipation of the salt manufacturers of Bengal from their present state of bondage aud wretchedness; they will at least cease to be food for tigers and crocodiles, and if they place themselves in a poisonous atmosphere it will be their own voluntary act, and not the work of their government." I refer to Dwarkanaut Tagore's letters for a most complete contradiction of this calumny; and which Mr. Crawfurd did not dare to utter in his examination before Parliament.

† The evils of the salt monopoly Mr. Rickards says may be summed up as follows;—a monopoly of a prime necessary of life to the poor is established in a pestilential climate, carried on by forced labour, where lives are annually lost by disease and the attacks of wild beasts, the sole advantage of which is a large revenue to government." —*India, or Facts*, &c. vol i. p. 647. Never was the word 'facts' more

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following testimony of Dwarkanaut Tagore, who in this letter replies to some expressions of Mr. St. George Tucker, in his able work on the finances of India. The regulations of the Bengal government, which are quoted, demonstrate the anxiety of the authorities to protect the Molunghees as well as every other class of their subjects:—

"Sir,—Having, I trust, in my former letters done much to remove from the Government of the Honourable East-India Company the *odium which has with hasty injustice been cast on it, with reference to the supposed hardships inflicted by the salt monopoly* on the very producers of that article, I might perhaps close this branch of my subject; but I have to *contend with a predisposition to condemn, and with a long-established prejudice, not only in England, where it has been fostered by persons who ought to have known better*, but in *India*, where people *may*, but *will not*, satisfy themselves by personal observation: *it is easier to vilify than to enquire*, more *pleasant*, because the vilifyer of a monopoly may always say very *smart* and *sentimental* things; and at all events infinitely *less laborious*. Influenced by these considerations, I shall, before leaving this division of my subject, bestow a few words of notice on the *unqualified assertions* of Mr. St. George Tucker, formerly quoted: he states 'that the Molunghees are obliged to expose themselves in the unhealthy marshes of the Sunderbuns, and to all the physical ills engendered by a pestilential climate,' and fears that 'the Molungees are among the worst conditioned of our subjects,' and asserts, that 'the necessity of employing men in situations where they may become victims of ferocious animals and disease, forms the greatest objection to the salt monopoly.'

"Putting out of sight the fact explained in my last letter, *viz.* that the services of the Molunghees cannot be compelled, I shall first observe, that with respect to the unhealthy nature of the climate, Molungees are born on the spot; and even if the reports of the unhealthiness of their country were true, the more intelligent of my European readers will agree with me, that men reared in the most unhealthy situations in the world, attain an equal longevity with those born in an opposite clime, and that it would as ill suit the constant inhabitant of the marshy district to remove into the hills, as it would conduce to the health of the tenant of the latter, to reside in the low lands.

more misapplied than in this vituperative production of Mr. Rickards, for the few facts which it contains are so distorted and mutilated to suit the writer's views, as to be wholly different from the original. Mr. Rickards may rest assured that his work on 'India' will give him a greater reputation for low cunning and casuistry, than for political honesty or manly opposition.

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"But waving that consideration, the period of life of the Molunghees is of equal duration, and the individuals possess similar corporeal endowments to the people of Simla, which is proverbial for its healthiness of climate, or to the peasantry of any part of India.

"Another fact will refute not only the tale of a compulsory residence in these districts, but also the report of their extreme insalubrity. The Molungee villages contain many respectable brahmins, koyaths, and several other classes of individuals, besides the ryots, who pursue the cultivation of paddy, &c. in the same neighbourhood, and adjoining the salt manufactories; hence it may be naturally supposed that the climate would prove equally injurious to them, and consequently become uninhabited by persons who were not residing there by *compulsion*. Having, as I trust, confuted Mr. St. George Tucker respecting the destructive influence of *malaria* in salt districts, I shall now observe on the danger arising from tigers and alligators, whose ferocity has been so formidably dwelt on, that Europeans who have had no local knowledge, might have supposed the existence of ferocious beasts who preyed on nothing but man; I can readily believe, that if the tigers and alligators could speak, they would give a different version of the story, by proving that they were the greatest sufferers; but to the point.

"There are nine salt agencies in Bengal, namely, Cuttack, Balasore, Khordah, Hidgelee, Tumlook, Bulloah, Chittagong, the 24 Pergunnas, and Jessore; now, with the exception of the two latter districts, all the others are distant from any heavy jungle, and not even bordering on the Sunderbuns. In the 24 Pergunnas and Jessore, there are about twenty aurongs, eighteen of which are all near the villages, where the Molunghees live in their own houses, and work daily in the adjoining *kalaries*, or salt lands. Two aurongs, one called Barboony and the other Tuffaul, are the only ones in the Sunderbuns: but before the Molunghees go thither for the manufacture of the salt, the place is well stockaded and fenced round, rendering it impossible that any animal can enter; moreover, shekaries and other armed men are employed by Government to protect the people engaged in the works.

"In the end of January the Molunghees proceed to work in the enclosed spaces described, and remain there until the beginning of June, during which period the salt agents supply them with rice and fresh water from time to time.

"The agents keep a record of any Molunghees who may chance to be destroyed by wild animals, by a reference to which it can be satisfactorily proved, that even in the two only dangerous aurongs in Bengal not *one* man in *one thousand* is at all injured in the season, which is

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less than the number hurt or wounded by wild animals in any part of Bengal beyond the limits of the cities; and even in the populous towns we occasionally have a visitation from a stray tiger or wild boar—witness recently at Dacca, and last year at Ballygunge, close to Calcutta. Although Mr. Tucker was so long in India, he appears never to have learned that there is another occupation of a much more dangerous nature than that of the salt manufacturers, *viz.* that of collecting wax in the Sunderbuns and jungles for the zemindars, and cutting wood for the fuel which is brought for sale to Calcutta; the former class of people are called *Mowlas*; two or three of whom proceed at once to the centre of the Sunderbuns, without any other defence than a kind of large knife, with which each man is armed; and in this manner hundreds of people are employed in the most dangerous districts, whose remuneration is not to be compared with that received by the Molunghees, as they do not get more than a few rupees for a maund of wax, the collection of which requires a very long period; and which is subsequently sold by the zemindars for 50 or 60 rupees. Now, if the condition of these people be compared with the *Barboony* or stockaded Molunghees, the advantage will be decidedly in favour of the latter, both as to *emolument* and the absence of *peril;* and from a consideration of their relative situation, the disciples of Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, and the weepers for the misery of the Molunghees, may really be able to judge whether they are to be called the '*most ill-conditioned of the subjects under British sway*:'

"I shall now proceed more particularly to notice the assertions which have been made regarding the compulsion, said to be used towards the Molungees. Let us first observe what steps Government have taken to prevent any illegal or unjust proceedings of such a nature. Regulation X of 1829, section vii, says,

"VII. 'No persons shall be compelled, under any pretence whatever, to engage in the provision, manufacture, or transportation of salt, either as a contractor, or labourer, or in any other capacity; and all persons who may engage in the provision, manufacture, or transportation of salt, and may not choose to re-engage, shall be at liberty to relinquish the employment, after performing the engagement into which they may have entered, and to follow any other occupation they may think proper without hindrance or molestation.'

"And the most ample redress is provided in cases of compulsion by the following enactment, section viii of the same regulation.

"VIII. 'If a salt agent shall compel, or use any means, or causes any of his officers or others, to compel any Molunghee, Hyoparry, or other person to receive advances, or to contract for, or engage in the provision, manufacture, or transportation of salt, the judge of the

Dewanny Adawlut, on proof of the charge to his satisfaction, shall adjudge the contract or engagement null and void, and direct the complainant to be discharged, and cause the advances, if any should have been made, to be returned by him, and award such costs and damages against the agent, as may appear to him equitable. The agent so offending shall moreover be liable to be dismissed from his office by the Governor General in Council.'

" Now, though upwards of a million of men obtain employment as Molunghees, yet by referring to the judicial records, scarcely a case will be found where compulsion has been complained of; on the contrary, when the salt darogahs have refused to give any advance to the Molunghees in consequence of their not offering good security, or from any other cause, the Molunghees have constantly presented petitions to the salt agents against such an act; and when not addressed, they have strenuously memorialized the Board of Customs of Salt and Opium, as may be seen in the records of that office.

" The price formerly obtained by the Molunghees from the zemindars was from *two* to *four* annas for *one maund* of salt; now they receive from Government from *eight annas* to *one rupee* for the same quantity; Government being also charged with a rent for the lands used for the preparation of salt, and in some agencies the *kalary* or place where the salt is made is increasing every year. In the beginning of the present season, in consequence of there being a large quantity of uncleared salt in the hands of Government, the Board of Customs of salt and opium intimated their wish to the salt agents to limit the manufacture; a measure which created a general dissatisfaction amongst the Molunghees, very little in accordance with the idea that the manufacture was compulsory, and indicative of any thing rather than its being unprofitable to the people engaged in it.

" Mr. Tucker says that ' we should consult both the interests of the revenue and those of humanity, by a partial transfer at least of the salt manufacture from some of our Bengal districts to those of the northern sircars.' Were the case as Mr. Tucker supposes, there would be no necessity for the transfer he recommends—the manufacture would die away of itself, because, as no compulsion *can* be used, high rates of remuneration must be held out to the Molunghees. If they choose to accept those high rates, it would be their own concern; more dangerous occupations are much worse recompensed, but it would hardly answer the purposes of Government to produce a dear article where the supply, at a more moderate price, ' is equal to the demand.' So far from there being any desire to force the manufacturer into unhealthy or dangerous, and consequently expensive quarters, it is rumoured that an abolition of the least profitable salt

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aurongs is in contemplation. If any one will take the trouble to proceed to the spot where these arrangements are carried into effect, should they be resolved upon, he will speedily see with what reluctance even the worst-conditioned amongst the manufacturers will abandon an occupation which has been long considered so wretched and unremunerative; instead of hailing the measure as a boon, it is well if its introduction be not attended with riot and resistance, which would afford a very singular confirmation of all the theories which have hitherto been fashionable on the subject of the miseries of Molunghees. For my own part I can positively assert, that such a measure will, to say the least of it, throw back thousands to the comparatively unprofitable employments of cultivators and labourers, while the richer classes of salt producers will be forced to invest their capital in speculations holding out no more than the ordinary return.

"The above facts will, I trust, go far to convince unprejudiced persons, not only that no compulsion is permitted in the salt manufacture, but that none is necessary. Not wishing to weary your readers, I shall reserve further particulars for my following letters.

"Your's &c. "A Salt Darogah."

Will the British public now believe, after perusing this letter, that the Molunghees are "in a virtual state of slavery, every man of them being in debt to the East-India Company, inextricably and for life, and not daring to engage in any other employment?"* I will not demean a character so truly noble as Dwarkanaut Tagore, by placing his testimony on a par with that of the author of the foregoing assertion; the one was written in India, challenging investigation as to its truth; the other written in England in utter disregard of facts,† as a clap-trap to obtain a footing in Parliament, by ingratiating the author

* Crawfurd's East India-Company's Monopolies, page 9.

† Mr. Crawfurd, among many other misstatements, observes, that "British enterprize, skill, and what is of equal consequence, British integrity, are excluded by statute from either manufacturing or trading in salt," (p. 13). This assertion is totally untrue; any European may purchase salt at the monthly auctions in Calcutta, and when I was in India Mr. Prinsep was making salt near Calcutta, and paying the government duty on it. Such is the veracity of a man who, in his endeavours to bespatter the East-India Company with odium, seems to hazard every thing like political integrity of character.

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with the electors of Glasgow or Liverpool, to the reader I would say, "*Utrum horum mavis accipe?*"

To shew yet further the *quo animo* of a person, who in all his writings libels every oriental functionary, from the Governor-General downwards, I may observe, that he asserts the number of persons employed in the preparation of the Bengal salt, that is of about 400,000,000 lbs., is only 125,000 labourers, in "a soil muddy, drenched by the fresh waters of the Ganges and Burrampooter, and liable to frequent inundations, and in a moist and insalubrious climate," (p. 9): the salt darogah says, "there are about one million persons deriving employment from the salt monopoly; and in another letter he adds, "allow me to state, that all reports as to the compulsion resorted to to secure the Molunghees will soon be put to the test, as the present government are, it is said, about to reduce the quantity of salt to be made in the ensuing year; by which measure many thousand people will be thrown out of bread, or (according to the adversaries of the salt monopoly) rescued from oppression and misery, and we shall then be enabled to judge how the zemindars will so easily realize their rent, which they have hitherto been enabled to do, out of the profits of the Molunghees."

In fact, many of the Molunghees are wealthy individuals, and all are as well off, if not better, than other classes of the community;* this I am enabled to assert from per-

* In Ceylon the state of the salt manufacturers is most wretched. Col. Colebrooke, in his recent report to Government, states: "the collection of salt is made on the Government account, partly by voluntary, and partly by compulsory labour, and in some cases also by debtors, who have sold their services for life to the owners of the salt pans, in consideration of an advance of 25 or 30 rix dollars (£1. 17*s.* 6*d.* or to £2. 5*s.*)." Such is the system under the King's Government at Ceylon; the prime cost of the salt at the Government stores of Tangalle, Colombo, Trincomalee, and Jaffna, is 4*d.*, 6¼*d.*, 11*d.*, and 3*d.*, and the profit of the Government in selling it varies from 800 to 1,100 per cent.! while on the charge the gross revenue is



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**sonal knowledge; and so far from conceiving it a hardship to receive advances for the manufacture of salt, they look on its absence as a heavy calamity. The Honourable Mr. Ramsay thus testified as to their condition, before the House of Lords, in April 1830:—**

"3403. How long were you employed in the superintendence of the salt manufactory?—I was nearly six years in the salt department.

"3404. At what place were you stationed?—I was stationed for about ten months in the twenty-four Pergunnah agency, though only three actually resident; then five years in the Tumlook agency.

"3405. Have the goodness to state in what manner the salt was provided?—By advances to the Molunghees, who are the people who manufacture the salt.

"3406. Was the condition of those Molunghees as good as that of any other labourers in the country?—Fully as good, and in many cases better.

"3435. Is salt generally manufactured on advances?—Entirely by advances.

"3436. To whom are the advances made?—Individually to the Molunghees (who make the salt), in the presence of the agent.

"3437. Can you state what is the amount of advance made to each Molunghee?—It depends upon the quantity of salt land he has to manufacture his salt from.

"4338. Is a Molunghee invariably the proprietor of salt land, or is it allotted to him?—He is either a proprietor himself, or he rents it. They are generally renters, and the Company pay a remuneration to the zemindar of the district in which the salt is manufactured.

"3439. Speaking generally, are the Molunghees indebted to the Company on their advances, or are they, on the delivery of their salt, free from all embarrassment?—I do not recollect, during the time I was salt agent, that there were any balances at the end of the year, and rewards are invariably distributed to those who conduct themselves with the greatest propriety.

"3440. Do you conceive it is in the power of any Molunghee with-

is 20 or 25 per cent. The revenue derived from the salt is £27,781 per annum; the contingent expenses exceed £4,000, although in most places the salt is spontaneously formed. The prosecutions in 1828 and 1829 amounted to 304, for infringing the laws relative to the salt monopoly, and the fines are often paid to informers by the Government, owing to the poverty of the people who are convicted; such, according to Col. Colebrooke, is the state of the salt revenue in a King's Government, according to his Majesty's commissioner!

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out difficulty to leave the manufacture of salt?—Certainly it is; but it is generally considered to be a very great punishment to be dismissed from the service.

"3441. Are you not aware that an impression contrary to that statement prevails in this country?—I have heard it often mentioned.

"3442. Do you know on what it is founded?—I conceive there is no foundation in truth whatever for it; for there is no class of people in the world better looked after, or more kindly treated, than the Molunghees employed in the salt monopoly in India."

Mr. Mangles was asked, can you state the condition of the salt manufacturers?—He replied that it was "upon a footing with that of other persons of the same class in the community," (Lords 652). "Do they select that manufacture by preference?"—"Undoubtedly; there is no compulsion whatever." The other testimony before Parliament is similar. Let those who have pinned their faith and opinions on the monstrous mis-statements of Mr. Crawfurd, Mr. Rickards, and others, now say if they will continue to believe the assertions of these personages; if they do, though an angel were to come from heaven, it would be of no avail.

A great deal has been said and written respecting the increased price of salt in Bengal, compared with what it was thirty years ago; this part of the subject is despatched in a few words by the salt darogah, by comparing it with the enhanced price of rice; he might have added other articles, and shewn how the wages of the commonest labourer have doubled, trebled, in some places, quintupled, of late years: "Regarding the enhancement of the price of salt, I said in my former letters, that it has been increased, and I again observe, that such is the fact; but let me ask, what necessary of life has not done so, and that in a much greater proportion than salt? It will be readily agreed that rice is the staff of life, and that it is an indispensable article of food to the natives; yet it now



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bears the price of two rupees a maund, while thirty years ago it did not exceed four annas a maund! Here is an enhancement of eight hundred per cent., while in the article of salt there is an enhancement, at the dearest marts, to less than half that extent; yet such is the prosperity arising out of comparative good order, security, and good government, that even the greatest of those enhancements is imperceptible to the people—what then, must the lesser be?"

I admit Col. Galloway's statement, that during the last thirty years there has been an increased charge on the cost of manufacturing salt, to the amount of fifty per cent.; but Col. Galloway, when observing that "this fact requires explanation," would, on reflection, have found it in the increased rate of wages and labour throughout Bengal. Ten years ago a labourer in Calcutta received but two rupees a month: now he is not satisfied with less than four or five rupees, and there is even a scarcity of workmen. Twelve field labourers used to be had for one rupee per diem, now six cannot be obtained for that sum; a Hindoo cabinet-maker, who was glad to receive eight rupees per month, now readily obtains from sixteen to twenty rupees for the same period. The price of fuel has trebled, and in some places quadrupled, within the period under review; all indicating, as Dwarkanaut Tagore observes, the "prosperity of the country, arising out of good order, security, and good government." Col. Galloway will therefore admit, that it would be remarkable if the cost of producing salt should remain stationary while every thing else increased.

Let us now observe the average rate at which this tax presses on the population subject to it, and who, from being an essentially non-militant people, with extensive frontiers which require protection, and a very moderate landed assessment, are peculiarly called on to contribute for the support of the government.

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A parliamentary paper, drawn up by the sub-committee of Parliament in 1832, on the revenues of India, gives "the annual contribution of each individual in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, to the salt revenue, at tenpence,"* that is, less than one penny per month! But even this trifling amount is evidently too high, for the calculation of the Parliamentary sub-committee is partly founded on the annual wages of a labourer being only forty-five shillings, whereas, if the evidence of Rammohun Roy had been referred to, it would have been seen that it is at the very least three rupees per month, or seventy-two shillings per annum. By calculations which I made in India, but which I have left in that country, it was proved, that the tax per head in Bengal is not more than three farthings monthly. Mr. Crawfurd admits that the duty per head from the 'monopoly' in Madras and Bengal is but sixpence per annum! It is evident, therefore, that the motive of this writer, in his virulent pamphlet on the Company's salt revenue, was not from any good feeling towards the Hindoos, of whom he says, that "to have 'eaten another's salt,' is in the Eastern languages the only expression by which allegiance and gratitude are acknowledged; for neither the genius of the Oriental languages, nor the genius of the Oriental people, is remarkable for exuberance in this particular;"† but from a desire to supplant the domestic manufacture of Bengal and Madras, by importations of salt from Liverpool! "In America," says this partizan politician, "the manufacture of domestic salt is encouraged by imposing a protecting duty on the imported article, a case too

* Vide Revenue Paper for 1832, No. 2.

† Monopolies of the East-India Company, p. 22. Methinks a little "gratitude" on Mr. Crawfurd's part for the handsome salary which he is still enjoying, a considerable part of which has been contributed by "Oriental people," (of whom Dwarkanaut Tagore is one), would not have been amiss. Mr. Crawfurd cares as little for the Hindoos, as he does for the kangaroos of New Holland.

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absurd to be supposed in legislating for Bengal;"* but according to Mr. Crawfurd's own evidence, what has been the result of this 'absurd' legislation in America? Why, that Jonathan is nearly independent of Liverpool salt, which he formerly imported to a great extent, and is now exporting his 'domestic salt' to many places;† but says Mr. Crawfurd, the "offensive contrast between the conduct of the United States of America and the British commercial administration deserves to be noticed;" he would have, in fact, he plainly says, "a free trade in salt" between England and India. Not content with throwing several million of weavers out of employment by the produce of the steam cotton looms of Lancashire, Mr. Crawfurd would now deprive a million of Bengal salt manufacturers of their livelihood; and all this while England imposes a duty of ninepence per lb. on the coffee grown by the Hindoos, and places a virtual prohibition on the importation of their sugar into England; if this be not "free trade" with a vengeance, it would be impossible to say what is!

Pray, sir, what do you take the Hindoos for? Are they not men, with human feelings, human passions, and human wants? is not their blood red? if you tickle them will they not laugh? if you oppress them will they not resent it? Your Government has imposed on their produce prohibitory duties, while it has, I grieve to say, made use of its power to supplant every branch of exports manufactured

* Mr. McCulloch says, that previous to the duty on salt in England, the tax was "*forty times the cost of the salt!*" He thinks £1,000,000 sterling might be beneficially derived from a salt-tax in England.—*Dict.* p. 924.

† This has been the case with every article on which America has laid a protecting duty; even glass is now being exported from the States to England. I need scarcely refer to the article of cotton goods, with which America used formerly to be entirely supplied from England, being at present an extensive article of export from America!

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except one article, which it could not get so good nor so cheap elsewhere, indigo; their very raw cotton would have had a halfpenny per pound imposed on it, a few months ago, but for the fear that America might ere long be at war with England,* and thus give a powerful check to the cotton manufactures of Great Britain. You desire to export your Liverpool salt duty free to India; will you admit the sugar of Bengal duty-free into England? You complain of the Indian government imposing a duty of three or four hundred per cent. on the prime cost of English machine-made salt; but, sir, the Hindoos exclaim and protest against your imposing so enormous a duty as 150 per cent. on their sugar, and 1,100 per cent. on their rum; 500 per cent. on their rhubarb; 600 per cent. on assafœtida; nearly 400 per cent. on their coffee; 400 per cent. on their pepper; 3,000 per cent. on an essential oil; 1,400 per cent. on coculus indicus;—I need not refer to other articles; look at p. 130 of this work, and observe the manner in which the Hindoos are treated as compared with the West-Indians. Since 1814, your free-trader has not only supplanted the Indian weaver in the sale of £2,000,000 worth of cotton goods in England, but it has deprived him of treble that sum in the supply of his own and other countries; but while thus beggaring millions, you have prevented them earning a subsistence in preparing the produce of their soil for the English markets; and in addition to this, you would now throw a million of salt manufacturers out of employment, without caring where they were to find bread! Is this what you call "free-trade?" Is this what your Glasgow weavers and Liverpool salt-owners aim at, when they proclaim "down with the East-India Company's monopoly!"

Englishmen have long been told that they are as

* She has rejected the award of the Dutch Monarch respecting the boundary question!

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generous, disinterested, and high-minded people as any in the world; he is not their real friend who silently acquiesces in this eulogy, if they persist in their present measures towards India. In looking back through the long vista of commercial history, who can discern any thing by which Great Britain deserves being ranked as a nation totally uninfluenced by selfish considerations. She followed the protecting policy of Colbert and of the Dutch, until she saw the tables were being turned on her throughout Europe; and then under Mr. Huskisson made a merit of necessity, and became the advocate of a free-trade policy; thus what she did to save herself, she has been praised for as if it were *solely* with liberal feelings. In the blindness of commercial or national jealousy she warred with France,* and spent her best blood and treasure in curbing the liberties and rivetting the chains of nations. She put down every species of manufacture in America, even to the making of a hat or nail, until persecution drove those provinces into rebellion, and England became the instrument, through that Divine Providence which causes good to arise from evil, of creating a magnificent republic: let this be a warning to her respecting India! I admit that a dawn is bursting on a new, and a happier, and a holier prospect;† that, in a greater proportion than in other parts of Europe, it is illumining the understandings of Englishmen; it has given pulsation to cold and sinking human nature; it acts upon men's hearts, and they grow warm and expand; it suffuses the light of a new existence over their

* England may well curse the perverted talents of Burke, and deplore the prejudices of his sovereign.

† What a difference between the people of this country at the beginning of the present century and at the present moment! Foreigners who may wish to ascertain the existing feelings of Britons, may find them represented in the speeches at the Abingdon dinner (*Times*, *Aug.* 17, 1832); or they could not find a more concentrated typification of the same, than in the manly, judicious, and eloquent language which characterizes the leading journal of the empire.

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souls,—Liberty, political, religious, or commercial,* is the spirit it has awakened,—already her voice resounds along the hills and through the vallies of Albion, and, with her flag, is swept over the ocean to the uttermost bounds of the earth. Conscious as I am that this mighty and universal spirit is now stirring, and agitating, and breaking the manacles of nations, I am compelled to feel the more keenly for the Hindoos, and to deprecate, perhaps with too much warmth, the mercantile policy heretofore pursued, and which in the article of salt is still urged for adoption. If India were placed on the footing of Ireland, and a free interchange of commodities were allowed between both countries, as if no wave rolled between them, then indeed might the less orthodox Hindoos be disposed to receive English salt for Indian sugar; but as matters now stand, it would be adding insult to injury to expect them quietly, or at least unmurmuringly, to submit to the annihilation of the last remaining branch of their domestic manufactures.

* By the first, I do not mean that species of political freedom which is wrung from a government by necessity in order to avoid revolution; nor can the second be considered toleration when it is withheld until civil war is on the wing; and least of all can the third deserve the lofty appellation of "free-trade," when the freedom is all on one side, when the strongest wields a despotic power in efforts for self-aggrandizement at the expense of the weaker nation.

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# CHAPTER X.

THE CIVIL AND CRIMINAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF INDIA;—INEFFICACY OF PUNISHMENT BY DEATH;—IMMENSE DIMINUTION OF CRIME IN HINDOSTAN;—OFFENCES IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, FRANCE, AND INDIA COMPARED;—EVILS OF THE SUPREME COURT;—ITS EXPENSE AND DEMORALIZING INFLUENCE;—TRIAL BY JURY IN CEYLON AND IN INDIA;—THE NEW JURY BILL.

NEVER were the constituted authorities of a country placed in a more difficult, a more extraordinary position, than the functionaries of the government of the East-India Company on obtaining possession of the empire subjected to their sway; and never, it may be added, was a task of so delicate, so hazardous a nature, more judiciously, more wisely fulfilled. They found an immense population ground to the earth by centuries of oppression, exhibiting a moral as well as mental debility which was humiliating to human nature; a people among whom civil justice was put up for sale to the highest bidder; who beheld the most atrocious criminals screened by their rank or caste from the punishment of the law;* among whom corruption was considered no taint, bribery no offence, and perjury no sin!—In fine, whose criminal jurisprudence was one mass of bloody decrees, namely, impaling

* The Right Honourable Robert Grant says, "every man lay entirely at the mercy of those who were to inherit his estate, and compositions for murder were notoriously frequent under the native government of Bengal." *Expediency maintained*, p. 29. At page 42, Mr. Grant observes, "violence and venality were without control in Hindostan, and prevailed in a frightful degree."

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alive, mutilations of the limbs, and flagellations to death! Notwithstanding these barbarities, the people, strange to say, were wedded to such diabolical practices, and it required the utmost tact and delicacy to introduce improvements without destroying suddenly the fabric; to preserve consuetude, yet ameliorate palpable evils. For nearly half a century this difficult task has been progressing. In the administration of civil justice, the objects of the Company's government have been to render it pure in source, speedy in execution, and cheap in practice; in the administration of criminal justice the aim has been, first, to prevent crime, and secondly, to secure the reformation of the offender. How far the objects aimed at in civil jurisprudence have been obtained, can only be ascertained by individual testimony; all the evidence before Parliament and the Board of Control acknowledge its purity; on this, the most essential point, therefore, I will merely quote the opinion of a distinguished Hindoo, Rammohun Roy, who says in reply to question 20 from the Board of Control in 1831, "I am happy to state that, in my humble opinion, the judicial branch of the service is almost pure, and there are among the judicial servants of the Company gentlemen of such distinguished talents, that from their natural abilities, even without the regular study of the law, they commit very few, if any, errors in the administration of justice."

In reply to the fifth question the learned Hindoo observes, "many of the judicial officers of the Company are men of the highest talents, as well as of strict integrity, and earnestly intent on doing justice." With respect to the second essential ingredient of civil justice, speedy execution, there have been many complaints; but it has been overlooked that in a country like India, where the great mass of the people are landed proprietors, of litigious

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habits, and with courts of appeal open to them from the lowest tribunal to the highest, the multiplicity of causes must be immense, more particularly from the increasing prosperity of the people, and the rapid subdivision of property which the law of inheritance creates. The statements made of delay in the trial of civil suits refer to past years; I have been unable to find any documents of a recent date on the subject; the latest, I believe, are those contained in Colonel Galloway's able work and Mr. Robertson's valuable pamphlet, and they do not shew much increasing delay, particularly in the most important court:

Suits pending in the Provincial Courts of Bengal.

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1817 ........................ | number 3,581 |
| 1821 .............................. | 2,429 |
| Decrease.......... | number 1,152 |

Mr. Robertson says the number of suits before the Sudder Dewannee and Provincial Courts were:

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1815 ........................ | number 4,245 |
| 1826 .............................. | 3,944 |
| Decrease............ | number 301 |

The average delay of 106,504 suits before Moonsiff judges, was in 1826, six months; the time gradually increasing through all the courts up to the highest appeal court, which averaged four years and three months. Would not any person with a suit in Chancery, be glad to have it settled in three times that period?

If the returns to a later date were accessible, I am convinced it would be seen that the number was still on the decrease. Rammohun Roy, in speaking of the vigilance of a judge who came within his actual sphere of knowledge, Mr. D. C. Smith of Hooghly (a district of great wealth, extent and intelligence), says: "under Mr. Smith every

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case is decided in the course of four, five, or six months." Until the register returns from the various courts of India for late years are before Parliament, it is idle and unfair to quote old documents or hearsay testimony respecting delay in India. If a litigious spirit, or a desire for justice, induces men to carry on appeals from court to court, they must, of course, expect delay, and of the two evils delay is preferable to injustice. Let those who complain of tardiness in the Company's judges, look at home, where under every possible stimulus to speed, an original suit at law will often supply a man for full occupation during life, and an appeal case find employment for a whole generation.

With reference to the third ingredient, cheapness, the public are not in possession of facts to decide on the subject. Mr. Robertson said (Lords, 12th March 1830), "the expense, as far as his memory served him, of a common suit in a civil case, brought before the civil judge of the district and decided by him, is on the average about thirteen and a-half per cent.;" this is slightly increased by Mr. Butterworth Bayley, in his admirable judicial and general testimony before the Commons during the present year; Mr. Bayley says that, "in suits from 500 to 5,000 rupees, cognizable by a zillah judge, the costs to both parties are about sixteen per cent., and in suits cognizable by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut about six per cent.;" all authorized costs and expenses of every description charged to both plaintiff and defendant are included! I apprehend no civil suit in England of that amount is decided cheaper, or within ten per cent. of the amount. The judicial charges of all India are not more than one million and a-half sterling; what they are in England I cannot immediately state, but an idea may be in some degree formed by the immense judicial salaries, above £1,000 per annum, which, according to the last parliamentary return before

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me, amount to £517,984. Off the million and a-half India judicial expenses there must be abstracted the salaries, &c. of the Supreme Courts at the presidencies which—

| | |
|---|---|
| For Calcutta amount to .......... rupees | 8,79,000 |
| Bombay and Madras to ............ | 6,50,000 |
| Total .......... rupees | 15,29,000 |

It may be said that it is unfair to compare the expense of litigation in England with that of India, on account of the vast wealth and commerce of the former; but the devise and transfer of landed property in India, mortgages, bonds, and other securities for the payment of monies; disputed accounts, partnerships, boundaries, &c., present an ample set-off for Eastern litigation, in comparison with that arising from British trade and wealth. In another view of the subject there are ample grounds for shewing the extent of legal proceedings in Hindostan. It was estimated recently, that there were in Great Britain, 2,941,383 families of four persons to each family; of these,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1,000,000 | possessed an income of .......... | £25 |
| 600,000 | do. ...... do. ................ | £33 |
| 400,000 | do. ...... do. ................ | £50 |
| 300,000 | do. ...... do. ................ | £60 |

The remainder graduated from £100 upwards. Four-fifths of the population had incomes of which the maximum did not exceed £66, and the average was £43. One-fifth of the community were, therefore, alone enabled to go to law, or 4,600,000 persons out of 20,000,000. Now, in India it is allowed that three-fourths of the people are farmers on a greater or less scale: so that while the litigating population in Great Britain is about 5,000,000, the litigating population of India is 50,000,000.* These circumstances

* It has been observed in Italy that litigation is extremely prevalent, and lawyers abundant, owing to the great subdivision of the land.

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are mentioned to shew the injustice of general censure on the expense, extent, or delay of legal proceedings in India. If a comparison be made in the salaries of the Company's judges in India and the judges in England, it will be seen that, notwithstanding the difference of climate between the two countries, and the retiring pensions, the balance is not in favour of the Company's judges.

| | £. |
|---|---|
| The Lord Chancellor in England receives per annum.... | 14,000* |
| The Chief Judge of the Sudder Dewany Adawlut ...... | 6,000 |
| The Vice-Chancellor in England† .................. | 6,000 |
| The Master of the Rolls† .......................... | 7,000 |
| A Puisne Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut ...... | 5,000 |
| The Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in England† | 7,000 |
| Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit in India ........ | 4,000 |
| Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench† .......... | 10,000 |
| Chief Judge of the province of Calcutta .............. | 3,200 |
| Puisne Judge of the Court of King's Bench† .......... | 5,000 |
| A Judge of the City and Zillah Courts in India ........ | 2,800 |

This comparison is sufficient to shew that the Indian judges are not paid extravagantly; but it would be cheaper in the end to pay them three times their present salaries, rather than the stream of justice should be muddy at its source. The total establishment consists of three high courts of appeal (one at each presidency), termed the "Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut," or chief civil and criminal court. Another supreme court of appeal similar to the foregoing has been established, during the present year, for the Western provinces. The functions of these courts are, cognizance of civil, criminal, and police matters; the remission or mitigation of punishment when

* This is independent of the noble and learned Lord's situation as speaker of the House of Peers.

† Independent of fees or patronage, none of which are attached to the Company's Judges appointments.

the sentence of the law officers is deemed unduly severe; a revision previous to the execution of every sentence of death, transportation, or perpetual imprisonment; arbitration where the judges differ from their law officers; revision of the proceedings of any of the courts; power to suspend judges; they may direct suits for property exceeding £5,000 in value to be originally tried before them;* they may admit second or special appeals from the inferior courts, and their construction of the Government regulations is final. For Bengal there are six provincial courts of appeal,† with a chief and puisne judge to each; they have no criminal jurisdiction; try suits exceeding 5,000 rupees in value if the plaintiff desire their decision (which he may prefer before the zillah judge if the value do not exceed 10,000 rupees); appeals lie from the zillah courts, and are final, unless in cases of special appeal.

For the Bengal presidency there are twenty commissioners of revenue and circuit. The direction and control of the magistrates and police, and of all the revenue officers, is vested in them; they hold sessions of gaol delivery at least twice in each year at the different zillah and city magistrate stations.‡ Lord William Bentinck has been censured for giving these commissioners jurisdiction over revenue as well as judicial matters; the object of his lordship was, I presume, for the expediting of justice, and deciding on the numerous revenue cases which occupy the greatest time of the zillah courts; experience will be the best test of the efficacy of the measure.

* An appeal lies to the King in council, in all cases exceeding £5,000.

† Calcutta, Dacca, Moorshedabad, Patna, Benares, and Bareilly.

‡ Meerut, Agra, Furruckabad, Moradabad, Bareilly, Humeerpore, Allahabad, Benares, Goruckpoor, Sarun, Patna, Bhagulpore, Bauleah, Moorshedabad, Dacca, Chittagong, Assam, Allipore, Cuttack, and Burdwan.

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The city and zillah courts of Bengal amount to forty-nine; some have a judge, magistrate, and register; in others the duties of judge and magistrate are conjoined, and the duties of register and magistrate. These courts have charge of the police, cognizance of affrays, thefts, burglaries, &c., when not of an aggravated character, and power to the extent of two years' imprisonment; commit persons charged with more heinous offences for trial before the commissioner of circuit; visit the gaols at least once a week; try original suits to the value of ten thousand rupees, decide appeals from registers, sudder aumeens (superior native judges), and moonsiffs; and, by a regulation of the present year for the expediting of criminal justice, three zillah judges may be invested with power by the Governor-General to hold sessions and gaol delivery.

Registers and joint magistrates exercise magisterial functions in defined districts, and are authorized to decide causes exceeding five hundred rupees in value.

Another set of zillah and city courts* have been established during the present year with native judges of every class, caste, or religious persuasion found qualified for the posts of sudder aumeens, moonsiffs, vakeels, &c., to whom liberal salaries are granted. In fact, to such an extent is the appointment of native judges and courts now extending, that the original civil proceedings of the country, up to a certain amount, will be placed in their hands, leaving to their countrymen, however, the option, until it can be seen how the system will work, of having their causes decided by a European judge, should

* These courts extend throughout Agra, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Futtehpore, Ghazeepore, Goruckpore, Meerut, and Moradabad in the Western provinces; and in the Lower provinces throughout Beerbhoom, Behar, Bhauglepoor, Burdwan, Chittagong, Cuttack, Hooghly, Jessore, Jungle Mehals, Midnapore, Moorshedabad, Mymensing, Nuddea, Patna, Sarun, Shahabad, Sylhet, and Tirhoot.



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they prefer it. A plan of judicature similar to the foregoing is in force at Madras and Bombay, modified by local usages, in some parts there being punchayets (native juries) of arbitration, and of civil and criminal procedure.* A Bombay judge may also avail himself of the assistance of respectable natives as assessors in civil and criminal matters.

The police (in Bengal, for instance) are divided into thannahs (stations), with a darogah (native officer), native register, a jematdar (petty officer), and from twenty to fifty burkundazes (irregular soldiers). In each zillah or district there are from fifteen to twenty darogah stations, making altogether about five hundred in the Lower provinces, and four hundred in the Western.

The darogah's duty is to receive criminal charges, to hold inquests, to forward accused persons with their prosecutors and witnesses to the magistrate; to use every exertion for the apprehension of criminals, and to preserve the peace of the station. The darogah regularly reports all proceedings to the European magistrates, from whom he receives orders. The last chain in the link is the village police, every village having its own watchman,† who together with the village corporation officers, agents, zemindars, &c. are required to give immediate information of all

* The native judge at Poonah receives about 800 rupees a month, and the native puisne judges in proportion.

† The number of villages in lower Bengal is 163,673, giving an assistant police for that portion of the province to the amount of 160,000 men; and in a similar manner in the other parts of India. The police of the large cities of Benares, Patna, Moorshedabad, &c. are well known to be better regulated than that of Calcutta. The author of this work took the liberty of suggesting to Lord William Bentinck the dividing the police of Calcutta into departments, with branch magisterial offices, as in London, a suggestion, along with others, which he believes has been acted on since his departure from India. There is still wanting district coroners, who might be appointed from among the Hindoos and Indo-Britons without any salary, as the rank the office would confer would be a sufficient reward.

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crimes committed within their limits, and to aid in the apprehension of offenders. There is a mounted horse police, officered by natives; and a river police, conducted by natives also.

Such is an outline of the judicial system in India, which Mr. Rickards, in his letter to the Board of Control, within the last few weeks, denounces as "inapplicable to the state of society, civilization, and knowledge existing among the natives, their local usages, traditions, and laws." Let us see if Mr. Rickards be deserving of credence in this particular, more than in any of his assertions examined in the preceding chapters; as it will be admitted that a great diminution of crime is a powerful test of the efficiency of a code of judicature. It is in evidence before Parliament, during the present year, that "the criminal laws of India are mild in the degree of punishment they award; that prisoners are brought to trial without any great delay; that extraordinary care is paid to the health and comfort of the prisoners confined in the Indian gaols; that the punishments formerly applicable to crimes of different denominations, have been very much mitigated;* that abundant care is taken to guard against prisoners being convicted unjustly; that the police officers have been furnished with a manual of instructions (Regulation XX. 1817), which are valuable in themselves, and have operated to prevent, in a considerable degree, abuses which formerly were prevalent among the police officers; and, in fine, that

* The criminal laws of India are those which the East-India Company found established in the country for centuries; these laws, though sparing in the number of offences visited with capital punishment, were accompanied by the relics of a barbarous age, in the shape of mutilations, tortures, &c.; the British authorities have retained what was good while abolishing what was evil, and an excellent system of criminal jurisprudence, still open to improvement, has been the fruit of such a politic, and at the same time wise proceeding.



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generally speaking, the whole system of police and administration of criminal justice has greatly improved of late years, and is in practice very efficient."

The returns which I am about to submit* will shew that while crime has increased rapidly in England, owing to the poverty of the people and the severity still existing in her criminal laws, the contrary has taken place in the territories of the East-India Company; demonstrating the improved condition of the people and the beneficent nature of their government: for assuredly whatever elevates a nation in morality and temporal happiness, well deserves the appellation of beneficent. I first take the highest class of offences for examination:—

NUMBER of PERSONS Sentenced to DEATH, and to TRANSPORTATION or IMPRISONMENT for LIFE, by the COURT of NIZAMUT ADAWLUT of BENGAL, from 1816 to 1827.

| First Period. | Sentenced to Death. | To Transportation or Imprisonment for Life. | Second Period. | Sentenced to Death. | To Transportation or Imprisonment for Life. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1816.... | 115 | 282 | 1822.... | 50 | 165 |
| 1817.... | 114 | 268 | 1823.... | 77 | 118 |
| 1818.... | 54 | 261 | 1824.... | 51 | 145 |
| 1819.... | 94 | 345 | 1825.... | 66 | 128 |
| 1820.... | 55 | 324 | 1826.... | 67 | 171 |
| 1821.... | 58 | 278 | 1827.... | 55 | 153 |
| Totals .. | 490 | 1,758 | Totals .. | 366 | 880 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Decrease of death sentences on first period ........ | 124 |
| Ditto of life transportation or imprisonment ...... | 878 |
| Total decrease on six years ............ | 1,002 |

* Partly from documents laid before the East-India Parliamentary Committee in April 1832, and partly from other official returns, which may be seen at the library of the House of Commons.

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The decrease which the foregoing table exhibits will delight every friend of humanity; on death-sentences* there was a decrease during the first period of one hundred and twenty-four, and comparing the two last with the two first years, after an interval of ten years, the difference will be more strikingly observed:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1816 and 1817, death-sentences | .. number | 229 |
| In 1826 and 1827, ditto ditto | ............ | 122 |
| Decrease on two years | ...... number | 107 |

If we place the death-sentences in juxta-position with those in England, notwithstanding, as the note will explain, the advantages in favour of England, independent of the population in one country being 60,000,000, in the other scarcely one fifth of the number, we shall observe yet more the improved state of Indian morality and jurisprudence.

NUMBER of DEATH-SENTENCES in ENGLAND and in INDIA for FIVE YEARS.

| Years. | Sentences. | |
|---|---|---|
| | In England. | In India. |
| 1823 | 968 | 77 |
| 1824 | 1,066 | 51 |
| 1825 | 1,036 | 66 |
| 1826 | 1,203 | 67 |
| 1827 | 1,529 | 55 |
| Total in both countries .... | 5,802 | 316 |

* Let it be remembered that sentences of death in India are not merely *sentences*, they are in general fulfilled, unless when extraordinary circumstances intervene; the decrease shows, therefore, an actual decrease in crime, not, as would be the case in England, only a decrease of the nominal severity of the law, which in fact is actually taking place from year to year, not only by means of legislative enactments, but also by the unwillingness of jurors to pass death sentences; yet, notwithstanding these favourable circumstances in a comparison of India with England, the amount of capital convictions is still on the increase in the latter country.

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Thus while those of India decreased twenty-two between the first and last year, those of England increased five hundred and sixty-one!

The return from which the English column is taken gives a period of eight years, the totals of which are as follows:

DEATH-SENTENCES in ENGLAND and WALES for EIGHT YEARS.

| | |
|---|---|
| From 1823 to 1826 .................. | No. 4,273 |
| From 1827 to 1830 ...................... | 5,926 |
| Increase on four years...... | No. 1,653 |

It is terrible to witness such trifling with human life and human feeling as these English returns exhibit; either the man who steals a lamb, as well as he who murders the shepherd—he who forges a bank-note, as well as he that slays a Bank Director—the impoverished wretch whose necessities or recklessness robs me of my purse, and the miscreant who wantonly takes the life of his sovereign, are equally subjected to the severest doom which earthly vengeance can inflict; or, on the other hand, a premium is held out for crime by the uncertainty of its punishment. A thief reasons thus: "If I commit this crime, I merely run the chance of being discovered; if that chance fail me, I have another in the law, a flaw in the indictment or so;* and if the second hazard turn up against me and I am sentenced to death, I have a third cast for life, as not more than one in eighteen are executed,† and I may perhaps be

* From 1824 to 1830, there were in England—

| | |
|---|---|
| Convictions ........................number | 80,882 |
| Acquittals .............................. | 22,330 |
| No bills found ........................... | 12,387 |

Thus the number of acquittals and no bills found were nearly equal to the convictions; such is the glorious uncertainty of the law!

† In the seven years ending with 1828, the death-sentences in England and Wales were 7,980, of whom 456 were executed!

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one of the seventeen who escape; should I be the unlucky one, why then fate willed it so and it must be so." Thus the commission of a crime is made, by the very uncertainty of the laws, to depend on a cast of the die, or the twirl of a tee-totum; and this is what is called justice to society and criminal jurisprudence, in this enlightened country and enlightened age! Far better were it to adopt the Draconian code in its full spirit, and let the pickpocket be decapitated by the side of the murderer.*

What is the avowed object of capital punishments? The prevention of crime alone; for all hopes of the reformation of the offender is cut off, by man impiously daring to disobey the command of his Creator, who emphatically declared, "As I live," saith the Lord God, "*I desire not the death of a sinner*, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live;" yet I say men—Englishmen—calling themselves Christians, make a mockery of their professions by spilling the blood of the divine image, when acting on the inhuman Jewish code, which declares (as all savage or pagan nations do) 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' The declaration of the Almighty, that 'he who liveth by the sword shall perish by the sword,'† gave no authority to man to be the executioner of that decree; the fulfilment of it rested with the Omnipotent Being, in whose hands are the scales of judgment. But, says my Lord Brougham, man may take away the life of his fellows if it be conducive to the good of society: I deny the

* Sir R. Peel's "amended" forgery bill contained thirty-five death-punishments.

† Judge Park says, in passing sentence on Cook the murderer, "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" but does this precept give any legal authority to man? Is it not merely a confirmation of the decree, that those who live by violence shall perish by violence? The divine precept is clearly, that "man should turn from his wickedness and live." If the execution of Cook would prevent another individual from committing murder, then there might be some worldly excuse, but there would be no decree from Heaven.

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abstract right, for earthly creatures possess none but what are in unison with the laws of God, which are based on the eternal and immutable principles of justice; and as to any conventional right, it should first be proved that the destruction of life was necessary to the prevention of crime.*

It is well known that in proportion to the severity and uncertainty of the laws, offences against person or property are in an inverse ratio.† In Tuscany, when capital punishments were abolished *in toto*, crime decreased; but in Rome, where executions daily occurred, crime increased; Spain, with more capital punishments by law, has more capital offences than any country in Europe; Majorca, under the same political government, but with milder punishments, few crimes being capital by law, has comparatively fewer offences;‡ Ireland, with more severe criminal

* In Russia, capital punishment was abolished with the most beneficial consequences. In France, after the revolution, one hundred and fifteen capital offences were reduced to fewer than twenty with the usual results; even in monkish Portugal the light of truth has penetrated with some success; the results in the United States are well known, and the profound as well as eloquent writings of Sydney Taylor demonstrate what a wide field of improvement is open for England to cultivate.

† Recent returns from New South Wales, where of late this barbarous law has been most rigidly enforced, corroborate numerous other statements. Out of a population of 50,000 there were:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In 1828 .... | Capital Convictions | 106 .... | Executions | 28 |
| 1829 .... | Do............. | 79 .... | Do..... | 30 |
| 1830 .... | Do............. | 134 .... | Do..... | 49 |

In 1826, as an able and humane writer in the last number of the Westminster Review says, the severe system began, I think, under the *regime* of Lieutenant General Darling. The number of executions had, for previous years, been under ten; but in 1826 they were augmented to nearly three times that number, and have since awfully progressed, with an infamous flagellative torture. (*Parlt. Paper.*) The returns of one court shew a doubling of the convictions. Murders increased from 7 in 1828 to 11 in 1830; unnatural crimes augmented at the rate of 150 per cent.; rapes at the rate of 300 per cent.; and other offences in a greater or less proportion. Such are the results with which Providence curses a departure from divine law.

‡ Westminster Review for July 1832.

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laws than England, is even more rife with bloody deeds* than the latter country, which in its turn is yet more so than France, and France still more so than America, where few offences are subject to condign punishment. Thus it is evident that severity, particularly when combined with uncertainty, tends exceedingly to increase crime, while it is but a burlesque on religion to make the scaffold a stepping stone to heaven; to make the twenty-four hours intervening between the sentence and execution of the culprit an expiatory period for a long life of guilt.

These remarks are scarcely made with the hope that they will be attended to in England, where the voice of reason as well as humanity has been almost raised in vain;† but if they should be the means of encouraging the judges of the East-India Company's provinces in the almost holy path they have pursued; or if they should assist in rescuing one individual, whether carried in ebony or in ivory,‡ from death; or if they should even stimulate others to examine the truth of the doctrine, the aim of the writer will have been accomplished.

Let us now proceed with the Bengal statistics of crime. The last table gave the returns of the Court of Nizamut Adawlut; the following are those of the Courts of Circuit, specifying the nature of the crimes:

* In seven years in Ireland, ending with 1828, the number of persons accused of murder were 2,604! But such is the repugnance of the people to come forward as evidence, that out of the whole number of criminals but 224 were sentenced to death, and 155 executed. This is the state of the law in a country where the pitch cap, the triangle, and the gallows have superseded mildness, conciliation, and justice. The proportion of crime in 1831 to the number of inhabitants has been in Dublin, 1 in 96; in Edinburgh, where capital punishments are far less frequent, 1 in 540; in London and Middlesex, which stands between both, the proportion has been 1 in 400; and in Cardigan, where a capital punishment is a very rare event, the proportion of commitments to the population is only 1 to 4,920!

† Witness Lord Wynford's sanguinary amendment to the Forgery Bill.

‡ Sir R. Rice, in his evidence before the Lords in 1830, says that among a population of 150,000 persons in Bombay, during three years, there was but one execution, and that was an English sergeant.

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No. 1.

SENTENCES for OFFENCES against the PERSON, passed by the COURTS of CIRCUIT in BENGAL, at TWO PERIODS.

| Offences. | Number of Persons sentenced. | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1822 to 1824. | 1825 to 1827. |
| Adultery | 51 | 20 |
| Affray | 1,917 | 1,136 |
| Assault | 212 | 174 |
| Manslaughter | 421 | 250 |
| Rape | 3 | 2 |
| Shooting, wounding, or poisoning | 251 | 199 |
| Sodomy | 5 | 6 |
| Felony and Misdemeanor | 189 | 107 |
| Perjury | 147 | 66 |
| Total | 3,196 | 1,960 |

Sentences of the first period .......... No. 3,196
Ditto of the second do. ............... 1,960

Decrease of crime ........ No. 1,236

No. 2.

SENTENCES for OFFENCES against PROPERTY, passed by the COURTS of CIRCUIT in BENGAL, at TWO PERIODS.

| Offences. | Number of Persons sentenced. | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1822 to 1824. | 1825 to 1827. |
| Arson | 66 | 47 |
| Burglary | 1,195 | 1,036 |
| Cattle stealing | 85 | 31 |
| Child stealing | 107 | 57 |
| Counterfeiting and uttering counterfeit coin | 47 | 21 |
| Embezzlement | 108 | 49 |
| Forgery and uttering | 71 | 60 |
| Larceny | 491 | 223 |
| Total | 2,170 | 1,524 |

Sentences of the first period.......... No. 2,170
Ditto of the last do. ................ 1,524

Decrease of crime .......... No. 646

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This is a very great decrease on two years, and in looking at the years preceding those given in the first table, the diminution is yet more gratifying to behold. For instance, adulteries were, from 1816 to 1818, in number ninety-five; felony and misdemeanor, in the same years, three hundred and seventy-six; shewing a decrease on the former of seventy-five cases, and on the latter of two hundred and sixty-nine. In the second table there is also a marked improvement in the country:

BURGLARY.

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816 to 1818 | No. 2,853 |
| 1825 to 1827 | 1,036 |
| Decrease | No. 1,817 |

CATTLE STEALING.

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816 to 1818 | No. 203 |
| 1825 to 1827 | 31 |
| Decrease | No. 172 |

EMBEZZLEMENT.

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816 to 1818 | No. 150 |
| 1825 to 1827 | 49 |
| Decrease | No. 101 |

LARCENY.

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1816 to 1818 | No. 1,516 |
| 1825 to 1827 | 223 |
| Decrease | No. 1,293 |

But if the foregoing Circuit Court returns be refreshing, those of the magistrates' courts for the Lower and Western provinces of Bengal are much more so, for the decrease of crime is yet more extraordinary, whether as regards offences arising from revenge, from destitution, from bloodthirstiness, or from immorality. The following shews the sentences of two years; if we had them of a more recent

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date, I am convinced we should observe a still greater diminution.*

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of OFFENCES against PROPERTY and against the PERSON, on which the MAGISTRATES passed SENTENCE in the LOWER and WESTERN PROVINCES of BENGAL, during the YEARS 1826 and 1827.

| Crimes. | | Number Sentenced. 1826. | Number Sentenced. 1827. | Decrease of Crime. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Against property | Arson | 154 | 31 | 123 |
| | Burglary | 2,433 | 1,995 | 438 |
| | Frauds and other offences | 6,161 | 3,302 | 2,859 |
| | Larceny | 8,301 | 7,927 | 374 |
| | Plundering | 768 | 97 | 671 |
| | Total ...... No. | 17,817 | 13,352 | 4,465 |
| Against the person | Assault and battery | 6,535 | 3,965 | 2,570 |
| | Manslaughter | 44 | 11 | 33 |
| | Riot | 2,259 | 700 | 1,559 |
| | Total ...... No. | 8,838 | 4,676 | 4,162 |
| Various offences | Bribery | 289 | 70 | 219 |
| | Escape from custody | 149 | 72 | 77 |
| | False complaint | 1,728 | 652 | 1,076 |
| | Neglect of duty | 10,332 | 6,652 | 3,680 |
| | Perjury | 178 | 41 | 137 |
| | Resistance of process | 1,010 | 533 | 477 |
| | Vagrancy | 183 | 55 | 128 |
| | Total ...... No. | 13,869 | 8,075 | 5,794 |

Decrease of offences against property in one year .... No. 4,465
Decrease of do. against person in do. ............ 4,162
Decrease of various other offences in do. .......... 5,584

Total decrease of crime in one year .... No. 14,211

* The evidence of Mr. Mangles (Lords, 4th March 1830), is confirmatory of this assumption :—" *Q.* Is the police efficient for the prevention of crimes? *A.* I believe it to be so.—*Q.* Is it improved? *A.* Greatly,

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In arson, burglary, fraud, larceny, bloodshed, bribery, perjury, &c. we see a rapid decrease, amounting altogether in one year to upwards of fourteen thousand! Does this afford any proof of the truth of Mr. Rickards' assertion, that "the laws of India are inapplicable to the state of society, civilization, and knowledge existing among the natives?" Yet nine-tenths of the English public quietly adopt all Mr. Rickards' statements as if they were as strong as 'holy writ!' Alas! Mr. Rickards' philanthropy is borne a long distance in search of an object on which to exercise it: the following table will show him that he need not go many yards from his own threshold without finding a people for whom the laws are quite "inapplicable," if we judge by the only real test which they afford, namely, the state of crime:*—

*A*. Greatly, certainly.—*Q*. Are there still robberies to any considerable extent on the navigable rivers? *A*. Not at all to the extent they were formerly.—*Q*. Is there a river police? *A*. There is, I think, near Calcutta and near Dacca, and in other parts, but not very generally. The improvement in the police can be proved beyond all doubt, from the great diminution in the number of crimes.—*Q*. Is that the case in the provinces where dacoity prevailed? *A*. Very greatly.—*Q*. Can you state in what proportion the number of crimes has diminished? *A*. I think in the Lower provinces the average of dacoities of late years is about as one and a fraction to seven, as compared with the state of things twenty-five or thirty years ago." Mr. Mangles adds, "in the district of Kishnagur, formerly most notorious for dacoities, that crime has decreased, from an average in former years of two hundred and fifty or three hundred, to eighteen or twenty!"

* I wish here to notice a statement I have just seen: The *Edinburgh Review* (No. 104) attempts the justification of death-punishments for certain crimes, on the principle that it is "right to destroy an enemy who invades our country, or an individual who seeks our life," (p. 401). Does the writer mean to assert that when a few French troops landed in Wales, or in Ireland during the war, we should have been authorized in slaying them if they could be made prisoners, or of shooting them in cold blood when taken? Self-preservation compels me to preserve life even at the expense of that of another, if the latter sacrifice be efficient, but if I can imprison the individual who menaces my existence, I have clearly no natural right to destroy him.

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SENTENCES of TRANSPORTATION and IMPRISONMENT in ENGLAND and WALES, from 1822 to 1828.

| Sentences. | 1822. | 1823. | 1824. | 1825. | 1826. | 1827. | 1828. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Transportation for life .............. | 132 | 116 | 117 | 126 | 133 | 198 | 317 |
| Ditto .... for fourteen years ...... | 84 | 78 | 107 | 129 | 185 | 293 | 508 |
| Ditto .... for seven years ........ | 1,316 | 1,327 | 1,491 | 1,419 | 1,945 | 2,032 | 2,046 |
| Imprisonment for not above one year .. | 5,028 | 5,114 | 6,078 | 6,601 | 7,023 | 7,684 | 7,108 |
| Imprisonment for six months and under.. | 3,899 | 4,040 | 4,861 | 5,408 | 5,819 | 6,251 | 5,991 |
| Total ............ | 10,459 | 10,675 | 12,654 | 13,683 | 15,105 | 16,458 | 15,970 |

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In India, offences decreased one-half in one year; in England they increased in five years at the enormous rate of upwards of a thousand per annum! When commencing these tables, I have shewn the number of persons sentenced to death and transportation, or imprisonment for life, by the Nizamut Adawlut; exile or incarceration sentences for seven years have thus decreased before this court.

SENTENCES of SEVEN YEARS' TRANSPORTATION or IMPRISONMENT by the NIZAMUT ADAWLUT.

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1825 | number 334 |
| 1826 | 137 |
| 1827 | 65 |

A decrease, after one year's interval, of two hundred and sixty-nine sentences!

Another method exists for testing the efficacy of the police and of the laws, which is by looking at the returns of the higher classes of crime, whether murder or robbery with violence; I have therefore prepared this table to exhibit the result of two periods of two years each, and I would fain indulge the hope that the view these ta les, one and all, exhibit, will have some effect in England, by leading those who have heretofore opposed the abolition of capital punishment, to reflect seriously on the consequences of their perverseness. In the execution of the laws there ought to be no such hopes held out as those of clemency; the strictest justice is the greatest mercy, not only to the unfortunate individual but to society; if any think otherwise, let them peruse the convincing speeches of Lords Holland, Grey, and Grenville, in 1813; of the Duke of Sussex and Lord Brougham on the Forgery Bill just passed; of Dr. Lushington, Mr. Sidney Taylor, and many other enlightened individuals; and if these do not teach them the necessity of "excluding circuitous virtue, or of legitimatizing" humanity they must possess incurably vicious, corrupt, or hardened hearts.

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STATE of CRIME in the LOWER and WESTERN PROVINCES of BENGAL, at TWO PERIODS of TWO YEARS each.

| Crimes. | Lower Provinces: Number of Sentences. | | Decrease of Crime. | Western Provinces: Number of Sentences. | | Decrease of Crime. | Total Decrease in Lower and Western Provinces. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1824 and 1826. | 1827 and 1828. | | 1824 and 1826. | 1827 and 1828. | | |
| Depredations with murder | 165 | 96 | 69 | 460 | 271 | 189 | 258 |
| Ditto with torture or wounding | 283 | 194 | 89 | 901 | 512 | 389 | 478 |
| Ditto with open violence but without personal injury | 330 | 221 | 109 | 83 | 34 | 49 | 158 |
| Murder without depredation | 358 | 196 | 162 | 311 | 255 | 56 | 218 |
| Homicide not amounting to murder | 303 | 248 | 55 | 311 | 185 | 126 | 181 |
| Affrays with loss of life | 86 | 47 | 39 | 180 | 118 | 62 | 101 |
| Totals | 1,525 | 1,002 | 523 | 2,246 | 1,375 | 871 | 1,394 |

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Under a mild and equitable system, *murders* with and without depredation decreased five hundred and seventy-six on two years! If this argument be not adverse to the bloodthirsty Mosaic code which England has so long followed, I know not what is.*

In the Western provinces the number of murders without depredation were—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1818 and 1820 | number | 496 |
| 1827 and 1828 | | 255 |
| Decrease | number | 241 |

Under an eternal hanging system, would such a diminution have taken place?

Affrays with loss of life were, in the Western provinces,—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1821 and 1823 | number | 232 |
| 1827 and 1828 | | 118 |
| Decrease | number | 114 |

Homicides were, in the Western provinces,—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1818 and 1820 | number | 377 |
| 1827 and 1828 | | 185 |
| Decrease | number | 192 |

Depredations accompanied by torture and wounding in the same provinces, were—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1818 and 1820 | number | 1,000 |
| 1827 and 1828 | | 512 |
| Decrease | number | 488 |

* The number of persons charged with shooting at, stabbing, and poisoning with intent to kill, in England, have thus lamentably increased:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1824 | numbers | 21 |
| 1827 | | 31 |
| 1829 | | 65 |

A trebling in two years! Will nothing rouse the Legislature to a sense of what is due to the commonest rights of humanity?



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In the Lower provinces the same offences were—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1818 and 1820 ................ | number 319 |
| 1827 and 1828 ........................ | 194 |
| Decrease .......... | number 125 |

And of depredations with open violence—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1818 and 1820 ................ | number 545 |
| 1827 and 1828 ........................ | 221 |
| Decrease .......... | number 324 |

Mr. Robertson gives, in his pamphlet on the Civil Government of India, published in 1829, several tables to shew the decrease of crime. Gang-robberies were—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1807........................ | number 1,481 |
| 1824................................ | 234 |
| Decrease ........ | number 1,247 |

Wilful murders—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1807.......................... | number 406 |
| 1824 ................................ | 30 |
| Decrease .......... | number 376 |

Violent affrays—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1807.......................... | number 482 |
| 1824 ................................ | 33 |
| Decreased .......... | number 449 |

Gang-robberies in the district of Kishnagur were—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1808 .......................... | number 329 |
| 1824 ................................ | 10 |
| Decrease .......... | number 319 |

Will Mr. Rickards now be satisfied that his assertions, in this as in other instances, are not grounded on facts?

Let us however proceed to a closer analytical comparison of crime in England and in the Lower and Western pro-

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vinces of Bengal, as exhibited in the following parliamentary table:—

CRIME in ENGLAND and WALES, LOWER BENGAL, and the WESTERN PROVINCES.—Sentences to Death, Transportation, and Imprisonment for Life, in Six Years ending 1827: (The Population of England and Wales 13,000,000; of Lower Bengal, 40,000,000; of the Western Provinces, 20,000,000.)

| Sentences. | Total Sentences and Executions from 1822 to 1827. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | England and Wales. | Lower Provinces. | Western Provinces. |
| To death ............ | 6,815 | 168 | 198 |
| Transportation or imprisonment for life. | 822 | 465 | 415 |
| Executions .......... | 377 | 168 | 198 |

| Sentences. | Yearly Averages. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | England and Wales. | Lower Provinces. | Western Provinces. |
| To death ............ | 1,135$\frac{5}{6}$ | 28 | 33 |
| Transportation or imprisonment for life. | 120$\frac{2}{6}$ | 77$\frac{3}{6}$ | 69$\frac{1}{6}$ |
| Executions .......... | 62$\frac{5}{6}$ | 28 | 33 |

| Sentences. | Yearly Averages in proportion to the Population. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | England and Wales. | Lower Provinces. | Western Provinces. |
| To death ............ | 1 in 11,445 | 1 in 1,428,571 | 1 in 606,060 |
| Transportations or imprisonment for life. | 1 in 108,033 | 1 in 516,129 | 1 in 289,159 |
| Executions .......... | 1 in 206,897 | 1 in 1,428,571 | 1 in 606,060 |



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While the executions in England are, in proportion to the population, one in two hundred thousand, those in the Lower provinces of Bengal are not more than one in a million and a half; and while all sentenced to death in India experienced the punishment awarded them, in England not the one-eighteenth of those sentenced to die suffered. Yet has crime augmented in the latter, and diminished in the former.

The number of committals in England and Wales in six years, stand thus:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1824..(females 2,223).. | 13,698 | 1827..(females 2,770).. | 17,924 |
| 1825..( do. 2,548).. | 14,437 | 1828..( do. 2,732).. | 16,564 |
| 1826..( do. 2,692).. | 16,164 | 1829..( do. 3,119).. | 18,675 |
| Total (females 7,463).. | 44,299 | Total (females 8,621).. | 63,163 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Last period ...... | (females 8,621) ...... | 63,163 |
| First period ...... | (do. 7,463) ...... | 44,299 |
| Increased crime | (females 1,158) ...... | 18,864 |

These returns shew the committals for England and Wales to be, in proportion to the population, one in every six hundred and ninety-six inhabitants. Great as this amount is, it has been exceeded during the past years. In the foregoing table England and Wales are included, but the proportion of crime in Wales bears no comparison to England; in the latest returns England and Wales are separated:—

Committals for Crime 1830.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In England .............. | 1 in 740 | inhabitants. |
| Wales ................ | 1 in 2,320 | ditto. |
| Scotland .............. | 1 in 1,130 | ditto. |
| Ireland .............. | 1 in 490 | ditto. |

Crime appears to be on the increase in Scotland, for a few years ago the proportion was rated as one in five thousand and ninety-three. But the state of morals must

* Eclectic Review.

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not be judged of in England by the number (740),* for unfortunately in many places the proportions are less inclined to virtue's side.

COMMITTALS in DIFFERENT COUNTIES.

In London and Middlesex 1 criminal to every 400 inhabitants.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agricultural counties:— | | | |
| In Surrey | 1 ditto | 680 | ditto. |
| Kent | ditto | 730 | ditto. |
| Sussex | ditto | 750 | ditto. |
| Essex | ditto | 650 | ditto. |
| Hertfordshire | ditto | 520 | ditto. |
| Bedfordshire | ditto | 710 | ditto. |
| Manufacturing counties: | | | |
| In Lancashire | 1 ditto | 650 | ditto. |
| Warwickshire | ditto | 480 | ditto. |
| Gloucestershire | ditto | 630 | ditto. |
| Nottinghamshire | ditto | 750 | ditto. |
| Cheshire | ditto | 630 | ditto. |
| Distant counties:— | | | |
| In Northumberland | 1 ditto | 2,700 | ditto. |
| Westmoreland | ditto | 2,500 | ditto. |
| Durham | ditto | 2,460 | ditto. |
| Cornwall | ditto | 1,600 | ditto. |
| Cardiganshire | 1 ditto | 4,920 | ditto. |
| Edinburgh | ditto | 540 | ditto. |
| Lanark | ditto | 600 | ditto. |
| Dublin (city) | ditto | 96 | ditto. |
| Longford (highest) | ditto | 260 | ditto. |
| Downshire (lowest) | ditto | 990 | ditto. |

* The committals for crime in the thirteen metropolitan and other districts were,—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1805 | number 2,317 |
| 1829 | 7,844 |
| Increase | number 5,527 |

In the ten manufacturing districts,—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1805 | number 1,198 |
| 1829 | 6,430 |
| Increase | number 5,232 |

In the nineteen agricultural counties,—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1805 | number 1,012 |
| 1829 | 4,158 |
| Increase | number 3,046 |

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It has been calculated that one-fifteenth of the population of this country subsist by prostitution; one-fifteenth by swindling, robbery, and every species of crime; and five-fifteenths are what are denominated poor, living from hand to mouth. Such have been in a great measure the effect of an ensanguined code of laws, which some have had the infatuation to propose for adoption in India.* Let us compare crime in the Company's Bengal territories (the only place whence we have returns) with offences in England, in Ireland, and in France; with reference to the yearly averages, and the proportion to the population:—

AVERAGES of SENTENCES, and COMPARISON with the AMOUNT of POPULATION, in ENGLAND and WALES, in FRANCE, and in BENGAL.

| Sentences. | Yearly Averages. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | England, for 4 Years. | Ireland, for 7 years. | France, 1 Year (1829). | Bengal, for 4 Years. |
| To death .... | 1,232¾ | 270 | 89 | 59¾ |
| Transportation or imprisonment for life ............ | 193¾ | 55¾ | 273 | 149¼ |
| Ditto ditto for seven years | 279¾ | 81 | 1,033 | 357 |

* In seven years ending with 1828, there have been in England the following executions;—93 for murder; 104 for burglary; 72 for highway robbery: 37 for horse-stealing; 31 for attempts to murder; 27 for rape, &c.; 23 for forgery; 12 for coining, and several others for various offences; the executions for crimes committed in the City of London and County of Middlesex, were in number 125. What a wanton effusion of human blood! Have any one of these crimes decreased? Not one—the very reverse; while those crimes in which death-punishments have been abolished nearly (sheep-stealing for instance) have actually decreased. I trust that foreigners, on perusing the facts relative to India, will assist the author with statistical details of their respective countries, directed to the care of Messrs. PARBURY, ALLEN and Co., London.

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AVERAGES of SENTENCES, and COMPARISON with the AMOUNT of POPULATION in ENGLAND, &c.—*continued.*

| Sentences. | Proportion of Yearly Averages to Population. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | England: Population 13,000,000. | Ireland: Population 7 to 8,000,000. | France: Population 30,000,000. | Bengal: Population 60,000,000. |
| To death...... | 1 in 10,547 | 1 in 25,840 | 1 in 237,078 | 1 in 1,004,182 |
| Transportation or imprisonment for life ............ | 1 in 67,173 | 1 in 126,289 | 1 in 109,890 | 1 in 402,010 |
| Ditto ditto for seven years | 1 in 43,610 | 1 in 86,419 | 1 in 29,041 | 1 in 167,669 |

The preceding tables, as well as the facts stated in the foregoing pages, are the best criterion of the efficiency of the Company's Government, and the excellence of their criminal code; I question whether any country in Europe would present so rapid and so remarkable a diminution of crime as the Bengal tables demonstrate. It is to be regretted that we have not complete tables of all India, as also returns from all the British Colonies; I would therefore suggest, that extensive statistics of crime be prepared for the India-house and Colonial office, which would not only be most valuable in themselves, but also offer the best possible proof of the condition of the people subject to the authority of the Company and of the crown.*

* It would be extremely desirable if the number of gaols in India and in the colonies, and the number of prisoners in each gaol, were specified, as also the mode of employing the prisoners, and the general effects of prison discipline; there can be no doubt that the public exposure of criminals in road gangs not only hardens the offender, but takes away in a great measure the dread of punishment from those inclined to crime, as witnessed by me in New South Wales. The best way in which we can appeal to the reason of the prejudiced is by the incontestable array of facts; had I the means, I would visit every country in Europe, for the purpose of preparing impartial statements.

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The British public might now safely be left to draw their own conclusions respecting the Company's judicial system;* but there are a few other points deserving of brief comment. Mr. Rickards complains of the "unsuitableness of the laws, on the score of language;" this refers, I presume, to the use of the Persian lauguage in official proceedings; but in the same paragraph he admits the necessity of having a uniformity in language, for the government proceedings, "in reference to the various dialects in use among the different inhabitants of our Indian provinces."† On this point the opinion of the Honourable Holt Mackenzie is deserving of the utmost attention; he says,—

"In Bengal the Regulations of Government are translated into Bengallee. In Bahar and in the Western provinces, most men, whether Mussulmen or Hindoos, understand Persian, and the translations are consequently made into that language, as it was found to be more intelligible to the people generally than Hindostanee." "The language of the body of the population, varies so much in different parts of the upper provinces, and is so little settled, that it would be extremely difficult to translate the regulations into any language that would be understood by them, unless a separate translation were made for every district, if even then."—*Holt Mackenzie*, 1832.

With respect to the regulations of the Indian governments, we have the high testimony of the Right Honourable Mr. Courtenay, that "they are better done than our acts of parliament."

The next point of complaint is the want of a uniform code of laws for all India. If by such expression he meant a criminal code, then the measure is practicable; but the attempted formation of a general civil code would be as

* It appears that even in Ireland impartial justice is not administered, according to the following announcement:—"Mr. Stanley rose to move for a bill 'to provide for the more impartial trial of offences in certain cases in Ireland.'"—*Times*, 6th August 1832.

† Letter to the Board of Control, May 1832.

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absurd as framing one for all Europe; it would be like the fabled bed of iron, which all mankind were made to fit by having pieces lopped off them proportioned to their exuberant length. But supposing such a despotic decree could be enforced, is no consideration due to the pledged faith of the British nation and Parliament, which by the 37 Geo. III, cap. 142, sect. 12, has thus solemnly guaranteed the existing civil polity of the people of India?—

"In order that due regard may be had to the civil and religious usages of the natives, it is enacted, that the rights and authorities of fathers and masters of families, according as the same may be exercised by the Gentoo or Mahomedan law, shall be preserved to them with their families respectively; nor shall the same be violated or interrupted, by any of the proceedings of the supreme courts; nor shall any act done in consequence of the rule or law of caste, so far as respects the members of the same family only, be deemed a crime although the same may not be justifiable by the law of England."

It is well known that the civil and religious customs of the Hindoos are so intimately interwoven, that every moment of life has its stipulated duty and every action its regulated direction; this is corroborated by Sir William Jones, whose memory is complimented by Colonel Galloway for his extremely accurate knowledge of the Hindoo and Mahomedan law.

"Whatever opinion" (says Sir William Jones) "may be formed of Menu and his laws, in a country happily enlightened by sound philosophy and the only true revelation, it must be remembered, that those laws are actually revered as the word of the Most High by nations of great importance to the political and commercial interests of Europe, and particularly by many millions of Hindus, whose well-directed industry would add largely to the wealth of Britain; and who ask no more in return, than protection for their persons and places of abode, justice in their temporal concerns, indulgence to the prejudices of their religion, and the benefit of those laws which they have been taught to believe sacred, and which alone they can possibly comprehend."

The Hindoo legislator Menu, foreseeing that the best

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means for perpetuating his system of laws was by intertwining them with religion, adopted the course pursued by Romulus, Mahomet, Confucius, and other founders of dynasties; to interfere, therefore, with the laws of the Hindoos would be to interfere in their religion, the result of which is thus described by Bishop Heber:—

"All my informants here (Benares), as well as in most other places, where I have heard the question discussed, are of opinion that a direct interference, on the part of government, with any of the religious customs of the country, would be eagerly laid hold of, and urged as the first step in a new system, by all who wish us ill; and that though it would probably not of itself occasion a rebellion, it would give additional popularity and a more plausible pretext to the first rebellion which such disaffected persons might find opportunity for effecting."

As to the possibility of framing a system of judicature which should have jurisdiction over Europeans and natives, it is in evidence before Parliament, that it would require the rescinding of the whole system; that the complicated provisions of English law are adapted to an old and highly civilized country; that we are as yet but imperfectly acquainted with the landed tenures* of Hindostan, and the customs of the people, which are in fact their laws; and that in a country situated as India is at present, Government must exercise a control over the administration of the law.

Mr. Courtenay says: "The difficulties in the way of one jurisdiction throughout India are insuperable; it would be better to define the jurisdictions of the King's courts." There can be no doubt that an extended jurisdiction of the

* It is justly remarked by the editor of the *Times* (August 1st 1832), that "landed tenures in India are of endless diversities, varying not only in different provinces, but in different villages, which are rural corporations; the customary rights of landholders, of cultivators, are infinitely varied;" yet in the very same column the editor laments the want of "a code of laws for India!" England is not called on to enact new laws for the Hindoos, who possess a constitution of their own.

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latter at present, would be one of the direst curses which could befal the natives of India, and it has been truly stated in Parliament, that "the natives out of Calcutta would look on such an event as the greatest misfortune and calamity." The low persons about the Supreme Courts are notorious perjurers and desperately reckless characters;* natives of any wealth are afraid to sleep one night in Calcutta for fear of being made amenable to the dread tribunal, and would sacrifice half their property rather than be dragged within its meshes.† The intelligent author of the "Policy of the Government of British India," justly observes, respecting the Supreme Courts— ......"So far as they furnish for Britons a trial by their own laws they are useful; but in every other respect their influence has been lamentably malign and deleterious to the interests of the British Government ......... its influence has notoriously demoralized the natives whom it has reached; they have learned all the chicanery and shuffling,

* A numerous class are termed attornies' jackalls, "bubulleas;" if they be not lions' providers, they are certainly those of tigers. Lawyers at Calcutta and Bombay, as well as every where else, live upon the vices and failings of their fellows, and a rich "pigeon" is as welcomely received by them as he would be at Crockford's; nevertheless, the lawyers are as little to blame for this propensity as the tigers are for carrying off the children of villagers—both follow the cravings of nature; the only remedy is for the peasantry to take care of their children, and the government of its subjects. Those who witness the first settling of an attorney in a country town, know that their neighbours will soon be set to loggerheads; the Hindoos want no further stimuli, they are already litigious enough, without letting loose on them the refuse of the law calendars of the United Kingdom.

† I appeal to the Rajah Rammohun Roy for the truth of this statement; nay, I have even known the Rajah, when repeatedly passing the Supreme Court in Calcutta, turn away his head, emphatically declaring that he would not even look on it; the Rajah of Burdwan pays an English lawyer annually to keep him clear of it! If a person offers a house or ground for sale contiguous to Calcutta, the first question asked is, "is it within the bounds of the Supreme Court?" Mr. Chaplin says the head men of the Deckan will rarely venture to Bombay, for fear of falling into the clutches of the Supreme Court, or of being involved in it by reason of any of their servants getting into quarrels.

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all the tricks of law and attornies, which they could never else have heard of, without adopting one particle of the good which the law contains."...... "These courts are no boons to the natives of India; they are baneful to them and to Government; the judges being idle about six days in the week, spell over their charters and letters-patent, to discover a doubtful word or phrase, to enable them to dispute lawfully, or under what they call a legal construction, the most obvious and reasonable authority of the local governments, and to fight with the phrase, mace in hand, under his Majesty's name and for his Majesty's honour—I had almost said disgrace."*

Such in reality have been the effects of the Supreme Courts in India, so that independent of the enormous expense† attendant on them, their extension, as I have before said, would be terrible to the natives of India, and in the event of conflicting authorities in the country, a formidable source of danger to the permanence of British rule. It is true that some king's judges and others have recommended the extension of Supreme Courts, but does not every school-boy know Esop's fable, "there's nothing like leather;" on the maxim, I presume, *est boni judicis ampliare jurisdictionem.* With respect to legislative councils in India, which Mr. Rickards proposes the immediate adoption of, it would be only equalled by the

* I quote these remarks without meaning any disrespect to the judges and officers of the Supreme Courts of India, because there are men among them of as high talent, probity, and nobleness as in any community in the world; but they have all a lawyer's bias for an extension of their jurisdiction; it is a feeling implanted in human nature. From circumstances which come within my private knowledge, I do not believe a more amiable man exists than Sir J. P. Grant, but that very amiability made his enthusiasm the more dangerous, in wishing to extend the principles of his court to a set of feudal barons.

† The absorption of the revenues of the state, and of the income of suitors, by only three courts in India, will be observed in the following: the appointments to them are generally mere jobs of patronage—

*India*

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folly of making a person drink whiskey who had never drank anything stronger than milk;* and as to abolishing the right† of appeal from India to his Majesty's Privy Council in England, independent of the injustice of shutting up a door for redress which by no party can be tainted with favoritism; the measure could only be proposed by those who had not reflected on the subject, or who really desire to 'cut the painter' between the two countries as soon as possible.

*India Supreme Court Expenses.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries and contingencies ................ Rs. | | 4,32,000 |
| Registrar (not including salary)................ | | 1,50,000 |
| Master, record-keeper, accountant general (ditto) | | 70,000 |
| Taxer ................................ | | 30,000 |
| Sworn clerk ................................ | | 45,000 |
| Clerk of the papers ................................ | | 30,000 |
| Ditto of crown and prothonotary .............. | | 60,000 |
| Examiner in equity .................. | 13,000 | 22,400 |
| Receiver ........................ | 9,400 | |
| Sealer................................ | | 8,800 |
| Three judges' clerks ........................ | | 30,800 |
| | | Rs. 8,79,000 |
| Emoluments of barristers and attornies ........ | | 7,71,000 |
| For Calcutta .... | | Rs. 16,50,000 |
| Bombay and Madras salaries and contingencies .. | | 6,50,000 |
| Officers, barristers, attornies, &c. .............. | | 9,50,000 |
| | | Rs. 32,50,000 |

Independent of the foregoing charges, the salaries to retired judges, &c., who do not die off so fast as the bishops, is a serious expense on the natives of India. In the India pension list, published by the House of Commons in 1831, there are seven or eight retired Indian judges with pensions from £1,500 to £2,000 per annum. Of the Supreme Court at Ceylon, Mr. Cameron, the King's Commissioner, says, "I doubt whether such a waste of judicial power is exhibited in any other country in the world!"—*Report*, p. 69.

* Mr. Courtenay says, "the conflicting authority between the King's Court and Government, being no greater in India than in England, the necessity of a superior legislative council is not, therefore, called for, as Parliament in England is rarely or ever required to control the executive or civil power."

† When I say "right," I am by no means unaware of the usurpation which exists in the appeal to the king in council, in regard to hearing an appellant from India, at his Majesty's discretion.

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A few words on trial by jury in the East, the effects of which I have witnessed among the natives of Ceylon as well as on the continent of India. At Ceylon the introduction of this mode of trial had an excellent effect in elevating the character of the natives, and I have often witnessed the acute manner with which they cross-examined a doubtful witness, frequently eliciting truths, which if not developed would have placed the prisoner in an awkward predicament. The late Sir H. Gifford has expressed to me the weight it took off his mind by having an impartial testimony as to the fact, reserving as he did the question of the law to himself. I think, from what I observed of the Cingalese jurors at Colombo, at Hambantotte, Caltura, and all along the road to Galle and Matura, the expectations of the benevolent and talented judge who introduced the system have been fully realized, and I know that his name will be handed down to the latest posterity by the Cingalese of the sea-coast provinces. But I will put one question to the honourable judge, whose character I hold in the highest estimation: would he introduce trial by jury into the Kandian provinces?* into a country where I have travelled for twenty miles without meeting a human being, and where the few inhabitants with which this magnificent island is peopled, fled from the sight of a white person as if all the demons whom they worship were in full chase. Some years hence, these very people or their decendants will appreciate a boon which, were it now offered to them, would be like casting pearls before swine. Just so is it on the continent of India; at the presidencies, and at a few the interior cities, the natives are fully qualified to appreciate this blessing, but it would be visionary to apply the rule throughout India; the working of the system should be carefully watched at the presidencies; the natives who sit on juries

* The sea-coast provinces of Ceylon have been under the continued dominion of Europeans for *three centuries!*

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there would converse with their country friends, the measure would be talked of, and when understood, solicited; then let it be granted when asked for, but not before.

The utility of thus acting is illustrated by the different conduct of the Calcutta and Madras inhabitants when the jury bill was communicated to them. Mr. Crawfurd states that "the natives of Madras held meetings, and declared that it was repugnant to their habits, institutions, religious prejudices, and inclinations, to sit on juries;"* at Calcutta the very opposite feeling took place, for there the natives were prepared to receive what they had requested. On the trial of Rajah Buddinath Roy in 1829, for forgery, before the Supreme Court of Calcutta, I witnessed with delight the honest pride which beamed on the countenances of a crowded court of natives, of every class, when they beheld one of their fellow countrymen† take his seat in the jury box, on a level with a special jury of the most respectable Europeans at the presidency. As far as an individual opinion is worth any thing, I would as soon be tried by a jury of intelligent Hindoos, as by a special jury of Christians:‡ I cannot therefore help expressing my heartfelt gratification that the natives are now *eligible* for the situations of grand jurors and justices of the peace at the presidencies, and have no doubt that such men as Dwarkanaut Tagore, Radakant Deb, Prussunu Comar Tagore, Ram Comal Sen, Hurrihur Dutt, the Day family,

* Free Trade and Colonization pamphlet, p. 84.

† This was the highly-gifted Prussunu Comar Tagore, whose cross-examination of the villain that served as king's evidence against the Raja, was of material advantage to the judges and to his fellow jurors; and who, I think, was the means of demonstrating to the public that the Raja was the dupe of designing knaves.

‡ I am aware that there is a disinclination to the natives sitting on juries; but if a Hindoo were tried at the Old Bailey, he would be entitled to have six of his countrymen as jurors, if they were to be had. Wherein is the difference, whether the scene of action be Calcutta or London?

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and many others, as well as numerous Parsees at Bombay,* equally intelligent, respectable, and moral, will prove themselves the most efficient supporters of British power in the East.†

* The indigo planters and Indo-Britons will afford a most valuable class of magistrates; and as it is the desire of the Board of Control, as also of the Court of Directors, to advance the latter in civil rights, many will be found qualified for the post which Mr. Grant's bill renders them eligible to. Such men (and there are many similar) as Mr. Kyd, Captain Bruce, Mr. Gordon, Dr. Frith, Mr. Domoulin, Mr. Glass of Bhauglepore, &c. would be an honour to any country.

† The India Juries' Bill has received the royal assent; it states the expediency of other persons, besides the covenanted servants of the East-India Company or other British inhabitants of India, being capable of being appointed to the offices of justices of the peace within and for the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; declares the eligibility of such persons to the said offices, with the exception of necessarily taking any oaths; that it is lawful for the Governor General or Governors to appoint properly qualified persons to act as justices of the peace, who will bind themselves by such oaths or solemn affirmations as may be prescribed, from time to time, according to the tenor of their respective commissions. The same bill repeals that provision of the India Jury Bill of 7 Geo. IV., which enacts, that "Grand Juries in all cases, and all juries for the trial of persons professing the Christian religion, shall consist wholly of persons professing the Christian religion."

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# CHAPTER XI.

TERRITORIAL ADDITIONS TO THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS BY THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY SINCE THE LAST RENEWAL OF THEIR CHARTER;—PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS EFFECTED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY; — TESTIMONY OF BISHOP HEBER, ARCHDEACON CORRIE, HON. HOLT MACKENZIE, SIR JOHN MALCOLM, SIR LIONEL SMITH, MR. FORTESCUE, AND OTHER INDIVIDUALS AS TO THE IMPROVED STATE OF THE COUNTRY;—RATES OF WAGES AND PRICE OF PROVISIONS IN FORMER AND IN PRESENT TIMES;—CONDITION OF THE INDIANS UNDER THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY AND UNDER THE NATIVE GOVERNMENTS.

As a necessary sequel to the preceding chapters, it remains for me to shew the territory acquired by the Honourable Company since the last renewal of their charter; what efforts have been made for the improvement of the country, and what is the general condition of their subjects.

Since the last renewal of the charter, the East-India Company have added to the British possessions in India as follows.*

To Bengal.—After the Goorkha war, from 1814 to 1816; Kumaon, Dhera Dhoon, Jounsar, Bawar, Sabathoo, and a mountain tract between Kumaon and the Sutledge; (greatly adding, as Mr. Holt Mackenzie says, to the secu-

* Derived from evidence before Parliament during the present year.



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rity of our other possessions, and enabling us to facilitate commercial communication with Tartary.)

After the Mahratta and Pindaree war, from 1817 to 1819:—Saugur and the Nerbudda territory; Sumbhulpore and other districts on the north-west frontier of Bengal; Khandah in Bundlecund; Ajmere, and part of Mairwarrah; part of Nimar, Bairsea, and Shoojawulpore.

*As Tributary States.*—Jyepoor, Joudpore, Oudeypore, Boondee, Kotah, Pertaubghur, Rutlana, Banswara, Doongurpore. After the Burmese war,—Assam, Arracan, and the Ultra Irrawaddy territories.

To Bombay.—By negociations and conquests, various territories and rights in Guzerat; Northern Concan, Southern Concan, Kandes, Ahmednugger, Poonah, and Dharwar.

Malacca, Chinsurah, and Singapore must be added, and a loan of Rupees 100,00,000 lent by the sovereign of Oude, was paid off by the cession of Khyragurh.

The inevitable cause for the foregoing acquisitions, has been explained in the first chapter; the impartial reader will judge by the preceding, as well as subsequent details, whether humanity in conjunction with state policy, have not compelled the Company's government to the course pursued.

The total British territory in India, under the Company's government, is 514,190 square miles, which, at the reasonable computation of two hundred inhabitants to the square mile, will give a population of 102,838,000 persons under their immediate sway. The Indian princes who exist under the protection, or as tributaries of the East-India Company, are as follow:*—

* The Company are obliged to protect the people of tributary states against their own sovereigns, and to protect the sovereigns against foreign aggression.

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| | Square Miles. |
| --- | --- |
| Dominions of the Rajahs of Travancore and Cochin | 9,400 |
| ———— Nizam | 108,800 |
| ———— Rajah of Mysore | 29,750 |
| ———— King of Oude | 25,300 |
| ———— Dowlut Rao Scindiah | 42,400 |
| ———— The Rajah of Berar, including Nagpore | 64,270 |
| ———— Jeswunt Row Holkar | 17,600 |
| ———— The Guicowar, including the detached Pergunnahs belonging to the British in Kattywar and Guzerat | 36,900 |
| ———— Rajah of Koorg | 2,230 |
| ———— Nabob of Kurnool | 3,500 |
| ———— Rajah of Sikhim | 4,400 |
| ———— Nabob of Bhopal | 7,360 |
| ———— Rajahs of Sattara, Colapore, Sewuntwarree, and the principal British jaghiredars | 21,600 |
| ———— Rajah of Cutch | 6,100 |
| ———— Soubedar of Jhansi, Rajah of Duttea and others, commonly known as the Bundlecund Chiefs | 19,000 |
| Territories under British protection west of the river Jumna, comprehending Jhodpore, Bikaneer, Jessulmeer, Khotah, the Seikh Country, the Hill districts of Sirmoor, and other small states | 165,000 |
| Of Assam Jynteea, Cachar and Muneepore, the boundaries are so undefined that it is difficult to form even an approximation to their superficial contents, but it is estimated at | 51,000 |
| TOTAL | 614,610 |

Runjeet or Ranajit Singh, king of the Sikhs,* is entirely independent; his country is described by all who have

* The Sikhs or Seiks, are neither Mahomedans nor Hindoos; they admit of converts from both sects, and are by some politicians supposed to form a barrier between the British and the Afghans, the most bigotted but the bravest of the Mahomedan tribes. Runjeet persecutes the Mussulmans with great severity.



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witnessed it as populous, fertile, and extensive, including not only the Punjab, but considerable tracts of territory beyond the Indus,* and the whole important and lovely valley of Cashmere. This formidable potentate possesses an army of 20,000 regular cavalry; from 20 to 30,000 irregular horse; eighty regiments of infantry, organized and commanded by European officers principally Frenchmen; several brigades of horse and foot artillery; an immense arsenal at Umritsur; and to support this force he has accumulated a vast treasure at Govind Garrah. There is a king of Nepal, I think, but he is tributary to China since 1792.

Let us now turn to view what has been done for the country in the way of public improvements in India, since the renewal of the charter; although it is scarcely fair to expect that much could be done in a country, which is only beginning to breathe, after centuries upon centuries of intestine and foreign wars; and where, with every possible economy, the expenditure for ordinary government purposes still exceeds the revenue. The establishment of tranquillity and the suppression of barbarous rites might alone have been pointed to, as sufficiently indicative of the merits of the Government; and the chapters on the public press, education, and the diminution of crime, would demonstrate the desire of the ruling authorities for the enlightenment and morality of the people; but a parliamentary document which lies open before me, amply refutes the calumny handed down from the days of Burke to the present period, namely, that if the Company were driven out of India to-morrow, there would be nothing to indicate whether the ourang-outang or man had governed the country; let this document then, as well as the subsequent remarks, answer to the charge.

* From Tatta on the south to Thibet on the north; and from Caubul on the west, to beyond the Sutledge on the east.

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AN ABSTRACT STATEMENT of all important PUBLIC WORKS which have been constructed in INDIA, or are at present in progress, such as Canals or Roads, since the last renewal of the East-India Company's Charter.*

1812: BENGAL.

The construction of a road from Calcutta to Juggurnauth, upwards of 300 miles in length, with branches to the principal towns near which it passes: still in progress.

1813:

The excavation of a canal, connecting the Ganges and Bugruttee rivers: completed.

Operations for the improvement of the navigation of the Nuddea rivers, by dredging, removal of rocks, &c.: still continued in every dry season.

1814:

The erection of two bridges on the estates of Rajah Ram Dyal Sing.

The excavation of a tank and erection of a bridge in Meerut.

Repair of the Ahmednuggur aqueduct.

Cutting the western end of the nullah to the bridge at Gobra near Moorshedabad; completing the eastern cut, and filling up the road across the old nullah.

Construction of a building for divine worship at Meerut.

Construction of a pucka road, 10 arched drains across certain roads, and a pucka Ghaut to a tank in the Cooley Bazar.

The military road from Calcutta to Benares restored to its original width, repaired, and several small bridges erected; the road also continued to Range Ghaut.

Construction of a pucka road from Allahabad to Burdwan.

Raising and repairing a road from Puttab Ghaut, which joins the military road near Hurripaul.

1815:

Laying down mooring-chains, and construction of a depôt for marine stores at Saugor.

Completion of the town-hall.

Erection of a mausoleum at Ghazepore, to the memory of Marquis Cornwallis.

Erection of lighthouses at Saugor Island, Point Palmyras, and certain floating lights there; likewise of one at the Island of Moyapoor. (In 1821 the construction of the lighthouse at Saugor was abandoned,

* Appendix to Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Nov. 1831.

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and one on Edmonstone's Island authorised in its stead; which was also afterwards abandoned, and a second lighthouse on Moyapoor constructed.)

Building a bridge over the nullah at Meerut.

Cutting a road 12 feet wide for beasts of burthen from Bumouree to Almorah, and cutting bridges.

1816:

The clearing of the island of Saugor authorized.

Rebuilding the houses of the Botanical Garden.

Establishment of a native hospital at Patna.

Erection of a lighthouse at Kedgeree.

Repairs and alterations to the government houses at Calcutta, and in the park at Barrackpore, and erecting guard-rooms and stabling for the body-guard: completed in 1827.

1817:

Repair of an ancient aqueduct in the Deyra Doon.

Restoration of the Delhi canal: completed.

Restoration of a canal in Goruckpore.

Construction of a new road at Moochucollah.

Erection of telegraphs between Calcutta and Nagpore.

Construction of a road from Tondah to Bumouree.

Completion of the new road from Patna to Gyah.

The road from Puttah Ghaut to the military road near Hurripaul widened.

1818:

Eight bridges built for the entrances on the land side of the city of Delhi.

The road repaired between Mahratta bridge, Calcutta, and a bridge connecting the main road with the gate of the hospital at Dum Dum.

Construction of a well in the centre of the proposed Gunge at Bumouree and Tonda (this work was in 1820 abandoned, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation); road leading from Calcutta to Dum Dum repaired.

Construction of a road from Puttah Ghaut to Hurripaul.

The road between Patna and Shehargotty raised, and drains and watercourses added, for the purposes of promoting cultivation.

1819:

Construction of a chapel at Benares.

Extension as far as Ruderpore of the road constructed from Bumouree to Tonda in Kumaoon, for the purpose of opening a communication between the Plains and Almorah.

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Repairing the bridge over the Ramgunga, and constructing a new bridge over the Soorjoo rivers in Kumaoon.

1820:

Erection of an exchange by the merchants of Calcutta on a site of ground granted by government.

Formation of a botanical garden at Saharunpore.

Construction of a part of a road from the Barrackpore cantonments to a spot opposite the village of Buddee Pantee, where lime-kilns have been constructed.

Construction of sangha bridges over the Bulleah and Soowal rivers in Kumaoon.

Sinking two pucka wells at Deyrah in the Dhoon.

1821:

Measures for building a Scotch church (St. Andrew's), and a grant of government in aid of its erection, which was completed in 1824.

Erection of two chapels at Benares and Dacca; also,

Completion of a new chapel at Futtyghur.

Construction of a church at Fort William, and of a new chapel at Calcutta.

Measures adopted for improving the routes of communication between the principal positions of the army, by opening and repairing roads at and between the following stations, so as to make them available during the dry season for any description of transport carriage; *viz.*

From Agra to Mhow *viâ* Lakheree and Mokundiah.

From Mhow to Delhi, by Neemutch and Nusseerabad.

From Asseerghur to Hussingabad, then to Mhow *viâ* Mundlasir, and to Nagpore *viâ* Berhampore and Ellichpoor.

From Cawnpore to Saugor through Bundlecund, and thence to Nagpore by two routes, *viz.* by Jubblepore and by Hussingabad.

From Calcutta to Nagpore, through the Singboom country.

1822:

Excavation of a canal to unite the Hooghly with the Ganges, through the Salt-water Lake. (This work was proposed in this year, and the line surveyed, but the operations were only commenced in 1829.)

Additional moorings laid down at Kedgeree.

Measures for the survey and improvement of the port of Cuttack.

Arrangement respecting the moorings laid down off the Esplanade for government vessels, sanctioned.

Formation of teak and sisso plantations at Bauleah, Sylhet, and the Jungle Mehals.

Construction of a line of telegraphs from Fort William to Chumar.

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Construction of a road from Chilkeah to Howel Baugh in Kumaoon for mules and tatoos for commercial purposes, and more particularly for facilitating the commerce between Tartary and the Plains.

Three new sangha bridges built, and a fourth reconstructed, over the rivers in the Kumaoon district.

Increased means employed for making a part of the new road from Calcutta to Nagpore *viâ* Sumbulpore.

Construction to Puttah of the new road from Barrackpore to Buddy Pantee.

1823:

Construction of a hospital for the pilgrims resorting to Juggurnauth.

Excavation of a canal to unite the Damrah and Churramunnee rivers: still in progress.

Re-opening of Feroze Shah's canal in Delhi: completed.

Restoration of Zabita Khan's canal in the Upper Dooab.

The course of Ali Murdher's canal, drawn into Delhi.

Works on the Seetabuldee hills.

Construction of buildings on the eastern bank of the Hooghly, and of pucka pillars, as beacons to be made subservient to telegraphic communication.

Execution of certain works at Diamond Harbour; moorings at the new anchorage; bridal chains and spiral buoys for the anchorage westward of the Kanacka river.

Erection of a new mint at Calcutta: now in progress.

1824:

Wooden bridge built across the river Pabur at Raeen; military road between Nagpore and Ryepore.

Erection of a chapel at Dum Dum, and another at Meerut.

Construction of two churches at Cawnpore.

Erection of a church at Dacca.

Erection of an additional church at Calcutta.

Erection of a church at Burdwan.

The Cutcha sides of the road from Dum Dum to Shaum Bazar bridge, raised and turfed; revetments of timber and planking as an embankment to the Ganges at Dinapore, to preserve public buildings.

Construction of two new tanks at Nusseerabad.

Construction of a new road from Mirzapore to Saugor, Jubbulpore, Nagpore, and Omrawatty to Bhopalpore, Mhow, &c.

1825:

Establishment of a botanical garden at Singapore; erection of bungalows and seraies for travellers in the military road from Calcutta to Benares.

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Replacing certain bunds destroyed by the torrents from the Damooda river, and repairing the damage done to the military roads between Hurripaul and the eastern bank of the river.

A road constructed from Cuttack to Padamoondy or Aliva; particularly desirable for the transit of military stores at all seasons.

Two pucka bridges over two nullahs on the road to Jaugemow at Cawnpore.

1826:

Erection of a new Madrissa, or Mahomedan college, in Calcutta.

Erection of a new Sanscrit college in Calcutta.

Construction of a new dawk road between the presidency and the new anchorage.

Construction of rope suspension bridges, known afterwards as "Shakesperian Bridges," was first introduced.

Additions, alterations, and repairs to the Lower Orphan School at Allipore.

Construction of two bridges over the Singhea Khal, and Sodepore Khal nullahs, on the new Benares road.

1827:

Improvements of the dawk road, through Shakespeare's Pass to Channel Creek, and the construction of a Shakesperian bridge over the Kowar Torrent on the Benares road.

A new building for the Madrissa or Mahomedan college.

Erection of the Hindoo college: completed.

Four Shakesperian bridges thrown over the Ramgunga, Kummee, and Ramghur rivers.

1828:

Operations for the removal of the rocks which obstruct the navigation of the Jumna: still in progress.

Erection of staging bungalows on the road from Shergotty to Gyo, and thence to Patna.

Erection of an asylum at Benares for the destitute and blind, by Rajah Kula Shemker Ghosaul, the expenses of which, in part, are to be defrayed by government.

Construction of three beacons towards the eastern end of the Straits of Malacca.

Construction of a bridge and boundary pillars at Agra.

Nine iron chain bridges thrown over the rivers in the province of Kumaoon.

1829:

The formation of roads in the districts of Jounsai and Bhowar.

Construction of a road from Balasore to the sea beach.

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1830:

Formation of a new road from Cuttack to Ganjam *viâ* Khoordah, intended as a high road of communication between Bengal and Fort St. George: in progress.

Construction of the Jynta road.

A road to be constructed *viâ* Hooghly and Burdwan to Bancoorah: now in progress.

Staging bungalows and seraies at Gopeegunge, Allahabad, Shajadpore, Futteepore, Cawnpore, Koostan, and Gya: now in progress.

Telegraphic towers on the semaphore principle at Kedgeree lighthouse, Coverdale's Tree, Mud Point, Moyapoor, Fort William, and at Middle and Diamond Points: now in progress.

Two pucka wells constructed at Meerut, one for the use of the natives, and for watering the roads of cantonments; and the other for the use of the public libraries.

Construction of a small bridge of masonry over a branch of the Nuctea nullah, near Bareilly; also bunds for securing the east bank of the same nullah.

An extensive canal connecting the Ganges with the Hooghly, crossing the circular road near the Mahratta Ditch on the north side of Calcutta: now in progress.

1831:

The "Strand Road" at Calcutta, towards the completion of which, Court's contribution has been requested.*

1815: MADRAS.

The clearing of the drain passing through the esplanade, and the new street on the beach, were completed.

St. George's church, on the Choultry Plain, also finished.

Construction of a bridge over the Mambaroota river, between Cannanore and Cootaparamba; necessary to keep open the communication throughout the year between the new road from the Western Ghauts and Cannanore.

1816:

Improvements of the internal communication in Canara.

Construction of a bridge over the Paramboor nullah, and of a new road between the Black Town and the north-west approaches to Madras.

1817:

Formation of wells in the vicinity of Madras.

A chapel built at Arcot capable of containing 300 persons; and one at Poonamalee of the same size.

* We have not the full report of this year.

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1818:

Construction of a stone bridge across the Madras river at the village of Chindrapettah, and sundry improvements connected therewith.

Erection of a new observatory.

St. Mary's church at Fort St. George reformed and repaired.

1819:

Formation of a road in the Neilgherry Hills.

Repairs to the bridges across the Cauvery, at Seringapatam.

1820:

Rebuilding of the lighthouse at the presidency, completed.

1821:

Building a church for the Missionary Society.

Erection of a chapel at St. Thomas's Mount, and of a church at Vepery.

Erection of a stone bulwark at Fort St. George, to protect the fort and the Black Town from the inroads of the sea.

1822:

Erection of bridges at the island of Samoodra, in Coimbatoor.

The course of the river Vellaur straightened, with a view of securing a village.

Reconstruction of the bridge near St. Mary's burial-ground, and of the one by the hospital gate of the Black Town.

Construction of a bridge over the swamp at Masulipatam; one-half at the expense of government, the other at that of the inhabitants.

Scotch church (St. Andrew's) finished.

Completion of the stone bulwark, and addition of an iron railing.

1823:

A new cut for the Votary nullah; also a new bridge, and other works connected therewith.

New laminating rooms for the mint.

1824:

The opening of a canal at Chumnapore.

Several wells sunk in the northern division of Arcot for the purposes of irrigation.

Erection of a church at Tellicherry.

Excavating and removing the shoals in the Coorm river, from the burying-ground bridge to the Chepauk Bar; and thence to the N.W. angle of the burying-ground wall at Fort St. George; also securing the bank opposite the centrical course of Clive's Canal near the burying-ground bridge, with a bulwark of stones.

Great road from Secunderabad to Masulipatam. (This work was

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continued until the year 1831, when, in consequence of its expense, the government limited themselves to the repair of such part of the road as might be impassable for wheel carriages.)

Great road from Madras through the Northern Circars, to the Bengal frontier. (In 1828 this work was discontinued, owing to the natural and local obstacles to its duration: that portion only of the road between Bezwarah and Ellore was to be completed.)

1825:

Construction of a tunnel from the N. E. angle of Fort St. George to the sea, for the purpose of carrying off the filth from the Black Town.

1826:

A bridge built across the Bonally nullah, the boundary of the British and Mysore territories, on the high road from Cannanore to Mysore and Madras.

Continuation of the excavation of the Coorm river, from the old female asylum to Anderson's Bridge.

A drain of two arches constructed on the west esplanade of Black Town near the Basin Bridge.

A bridge built over the Coorm river, and three roads leading to the bridge raised and new laid.

The road across the swamp from the fort to the pettah at Masulipatam repaired.

1827:

Erection of a monument, of a choultry and tank, at Goote, and the sinking of wells at Putteekondah, in honour of Sir T. Munro's memory: in progress.

Construction of a bridge across a nullah between Alliporam and Ganjam, in the main road through the Northern Circars.

Erection of a stone bridge over the Jacklee nullah, to secure a permanent communication between Kamptee and Nagpore.

1828:

Formation of a new road from the Wallajah bridge, to the bar on the south side of the beach at Madras, annexing safety railings and poles, and fortifying the banks of the river.

The mission church in the Black Town enlarged and improved.

The lighthouse in Fort St. George repaired.

Repairs made to Anderson's Bridge.

Construction of a causeway over the ditch at the drawbridge of the Mysore gateway, and one over that at the Bangalore gateway of the fort of Seringapatam.

Formation of a road from Madras to Bangalore. (This work has been completed to Poonamallee, but beyond that place the work has

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been restricted to the object of making it passable for carts and ordnance carriages.)

1829:

Military road through Coorg.

Construction of a cutwal's choultry at Jaulnah.

Erection of a bridge over the Wootary nullah, at Fort St. George.

The bar of the Coram river partially opened at Chepauk, with a view of obtaining a supply of water from the sea by filtration.

Erection of a wall and cast-iron railing round the church at St. Thomas's Mount.

1830:

The construction of an anicut across the Kendalseroo river in Nellore.

The reform of a portion of the grand anicut in the bank of the Cavery at Trichinopoly.

The repair of the Bistee Ghaut in Canara.

1814: BOMBAY.

The formation of a new road from Bancoote to Mundgaum.

Repair of the old docks; the completion of the slope in the dockyard for raising timber: the rebuilding the slip in the dockyard; the removal of the dam; and the forming an ordnance wharf.

Erection of a church at Surat: finished in 1823.

1815:

Formation of a road from Bandorah to Gorabunder.

1816:

Erection of a Scotch church: completed in 1818.

Construction of a chapel at Colabba authorized: is now in progress on a new and more simple plan than was at first designed.

1817:

Excavation of a tank at Bohur.

A chapel proposed to be substituted for an unoccupied barrack at Tannah, as a place of worship: completed by Government in 1826.

A new mint recommended by Government: finished in 1830.

1820:

The Committee aqueduct for supplying the lower part of the Black Town with fresh water, and the Byculla tank, undertaken: finished in 1824.

Captain Hawkins's plan for draining the flats of Bombay by the Woorlee channel, adopted.

A church erected in the Northern Concan.

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1821:

Rupees 20,000 expended by a native on a quarry near Byculla, to increase the supply of water; also a building for the accommodation of travellers; and a large tank at Bandreah in the island of Salsette: undertaken and sanctioned by order of Government.

A chapel at Poonah, authorized: finished in 1823.

1822:

A new wharf constructed at the port of Bombay.

1824:

Construction of a town hall undertaken: not yet completed.

1825:

Military road from the South Mahratta country to the coast.

A church erected at Dapooree; also churches in the east zillah north of the Myhee, and at Baroda, and a Roman Catholic chapel at Colabba.

Road from Nassick to Bhewndy: in progress.

1826:

Improvement of Sion causeway.

A chain suspension bridge over the Moolla river applied for by Government; a wooden bridge at less cost substituted in 1830.

Construction of a new observatory sanctioned: finished in 1830.

Construction of a church at Mhow authorized.

1827:

Improvement of the Bhore Ghaut proposed; Captain Hughes's plan for constructing a road up to Poona, accepted: the work in progress.

A church built at Kirkhee.

Road from Malligaum to Surat finished.

1828:

Construction of bungalows at Malabar Point, and formation of a botanical garden at Dapooree undertaken: not yet completed.

1831:

Sanction and subscription of Government for a church to be erected at Byculla by the inhabitants of Bombay.

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# SURVEYS.

## Triangulation.

Since the year 1814 the Meridional Arc has been extended from Daumergidda to Seronj by Colonel Lambton and Captain Everest, being in distance north and south six degrees of latitude.

A tract of country has also been triangulated in the Nizam's dominions, of the extent of about 30,000 square miles, by Colonel Lambton and Captain Everest.

A chain of triangles has been carried from Seronj to within 50 miles of Calcutta, a distance of about 12° of longitude, for the purpose of connecting that place with the Meridional Arc; the position of all the principal towns in the line of route has also been determined.

Trigonometrical Surveys which are connected by Triangulation with the Meridional Arc:

| | Square Miles. |
|---|---|
| **Madras Presidency:** | |
| Travancore and Cochin | 10,000 |
| South Coimbatoor | 4,000 |
| Dindigul | 1,800 |
| Trichinipoly | 3,000 |
| Koorg | 2,200 |
| Soonda and Balgy | 2,400 |
| Guntoor | 5,000 |
| Masulipatam | 5,000 |
| Rajahmundry and Elloor | 7,000 |
| Vizagapatam | 6,000 |
| Part of the Nizam's dominions | 13,000 |
| **Bombay Presidency:** | |
| The Deccan Survey as far as it is finished comprehends Dharwar; the Rajah of Sattara's dominions; the Rajah of Kolapore's dominions, &c.; the Northern and Southern Concan; part of Poonah, Bombay, &c. | 50,000 |
| **Bengal Presidency:** | |
| Bhopal | 7,000 |
| Bundelcund | 16,000 |
| The country between Bundelcund and Palamow | 9,000 |
| Benares | 3,000 |
| The Dooab | 2,500 |
| Burdwan | 4,000 |

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TRIGONOMETRICAL SURVEYS, but which are not connected with the Meridional Arc:

| | Square Miles. |
|---|---|
| Mountainous Districts | 16,000 |
| Ajmere | 4,000 |
| Hurriana | 3,500 |
| Part of the Sunderbunds | 800 |
| Assam | 15,000 |
| Sylhet | 4,000 |
| Munnipoor | 5,000 |
| Chittagong | 4,000 |
| Cuttack | 6,000 |
| Part of Kattywar and Gujerat | 9,000 |
| Bhoj | 4,000 |
| Kandeish | 7,000 |

East-India House, Nov. 1831. J. MILL, Examiner of India Correspondence.

The comprehensive evidence of Holt Mackenzie during this year, adds thus to the foregoing:—

"The church establishment has been largely added to; there have been various new calls upon the government for support to charitable institutions which have been multiplied,—the education of the people has been better provided for,—a liberal allowance has been given to a fund established for the purpose of providing retiring annuities to civil, servants and surveys and public works have been undertaken on a larger scale," &c.*

At other places the same witness speaks of what in reality is the best criterion of a government, "the improvement of the country, by which," he says, "I mean extended tillage, enlarged commercial dealings, and augmented population." On this important point it will be necessary to quote the opinion of an acute observer, the late Bishop Heber, who, from his previous travels in

* In Madras, for instance, one road through Nellore cost £10,000; the bridges throughout the country are maintained by government, and are almost innumerable; as for example across one road in the Madras territory, in the space of thirty miles, there are one hundred bridges of from one to ten arches. The sums of money laid out for tanks (water reservoirs) have been very great; in 1829, under the Madras government alone, £120,000 were expended.

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other parts of Asia and Europe was well qualified to judge of the actual condition of the Company's subjects.

*Bishop Heber's View of the Improvement in the East-India Company's Territories.*—"Southern Malwa from a mere wilderness is now a garden," p. 74. "During the years of trouble, Malwa (except in the neighbourhood of fortified towns and among the most inaccessible mountains) was entirely depopulated. All the villages hereabout had emigrated chiefly into Berar, Candeish, and the Deckan: and some had become servants and camp followers to the British army, till, within the last three or four years, they returned each man to his inheritance, on hearing that they might do so with safety," p. 98.

"Every where, making due allowances for the late great droughts and consequent scarcity, amounting almost to absolute famine, with its dreadful attendant evils of pestilence and the weakening of all moral ties; the country seems to thrive under its present system of Government. The burdens of the peasantry are decidedly less in amount and collected in a less oppressive manner, than under the old monarchy. The English name is therefore popular with all, but those who are inevitably great losers by our coming—the courtiers of the Peishwa, such of the traders as lived by the splendor of his Court, and probably, though this does not appear, the Brahmins;" p. 211.

"Though our influence has not done the good which might be desired or expected in Central India, that which has been done, is really considerable. Except from the poor Bheels, and from the few gangs of marauders which still lurk in different parts of the country, that country is now at peace; and how slight are these dangers, and how easy to be borne are the oppressions of the native rajas, in comparison with the annual swarm of Pindarrie horsemen, who robbed, burned, ravished, enslaved, tortured, and murdered over the whole extent of territories from the Renn to the Bay of Bengal? While their inroads are remembered, to say nothing of Jeswunt Rao, Holkar, and Ameer Khân, the coming of the English cannot but be considered as a blessing; *and I only hope, that we may not destroy the reverence and awful regard, with which our nation is still looked up to here;*" vol. 2, p. 74.

"The country people seem content and thriving; p. 114.

The Bishop and Archdeacon Corrie, give the following description of the country :—

Sept. 15.—"We passed Mirzapoor, the size and apparent opulence of which surprised me, as it is a place of no ancient importance or



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renown, has grown up completely since the English power has been established here; and under our government, is only an inferior civil station, with a few native troops. It is, however, a very great town, as large, I should think, as Patna, with many handsome native houses, and a vast number of mosques and temples, numerous and elegant bungalows in its outskirts; and on the opposite side of the river, a great number of boats of all kinds, moored at its ghâts, and is computed to contain between 2 and 300,000 people."

"This is indeed a most rich and striking land. Here, in the space of little more than 200 miles, along the same river, I have passed six towns, none of them less populous than Chester,—two (Patna and Mirzapoor), more so than Birmingham; and one, Benares, more peopled than any city in Europe, except London or Paris! And this, besides villages innumerable. I observed to Mr. Corrie,* that I had expected to find agriculture in Hindostan in a flourishing state, but the great cities ruined, in consequence of the ruin of the Mussulman nobles. He answered, that certainly very many ancient families had gone to decay, but he did not think the gap had been ever perceptible in his time, in this part of India, since it had been more filled up by a new order rising from the middling classes, whose wealth had, during his recollection, increased very greatly. Far indeed from those cities which we had already passed decaying, most of them had much increased in the number of their houses; and in what is a sure sign of wealth in India, the number and neatness of their ghâts and temples since he was last here. Nothing, he said, was plainer to him, from the multitude of little improvements of this kind, of small temples and bungalows, partly in the European style, but obviously inhabited by natives, that wealth was becoming more abundant among the middling ranks; and that such of them as are rich, are not afraid of appearing so. The great cities in the Doab, he said, were indeed scenes of desolation. The whole country round Delhi and Agra, when he first saw it, was filled with the marbled ruins of nullas, mosques, and palaces, with the fragments of tanks and canals, and the vestiges of inclosures. But this ruin had occurred before the British arms had extended thus far, and while the country was under the tyranny and never ending invasions of the Persians, Affghans, and Mahrattas. Even here a great improvement had taken place before he left Agra, and he hoped to find a much greater on his return. He apprehended that on the whole, all India had gained under British rule, except, perhaps, Dacca and its neighbourhood, where the manufactures had been nearly ruined;" p. 314.

* This respected gentleman has been in India, I believe, thirty or forty years.

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In another place the lamented Heber says—

"One of the strongest proofs that I have met with of the satisfaction of the Hindoos with their rulers, was the mutual felicitations which the archdeacon overheard between two villagers near Cawnpore, and which was not intended for his ear. 'A good rain this for the bread,' said one of the villagers to another; 'yes,' was the answer, 'and a good government under which a man may eat his bread in safety.'"

But Bishop Heber is not the only testimony on which the shadows of partiality cannot be cast; Major General Sir Lionel Smith, K.C.B., an old king's officer who visited various parts of India, resided there a great number of years, and who describes himself as very partial to the natives, says—

"I should say the condition of the people had been highly ameliorated by the government since the conquest," (5532).—"Do not you think the people are better protected, and that they pay less than under the native government? *A.* Yes; the government in several bad years made remissions to them in the amount of the taxes," (5508).

—I should be glad to know when the British government remitted the taxes in this country at periods of general distress?

Mr. Robertson, in his interesting remarks on the civil government of India, thus alludes to the condition of the people, and the cultivation of the country—

"I have never served in the Benares province, but of Behar I can speak with confidence as being cultivated to an extent that, in many places, hardly leaves room for carriage roads. The people do not generally bear any marks of poverty.

"I have, as magistrate of Patna, often been surprised at the readiness with which fines of twenty or thirty rupees, commutable into only one month's imprisonment, have been paid by common villagers; and my own belief is, that the labouring peasantry of that province are, with reference to the climate and their wants, fully as well off as the peasantry of England, certainly, beyond all comparison, in a better condition than the same class in Ireland, and in many parts of Scotland."

Mr. Harris, an extensive indigo planter, in speaking of the condition of the peasantry during the years when they



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fell under his observation, from 1808 to 1822, says—"their condition was greatly improved latterly, from the time I first went there, to the time I came away; their houses were better, and their condition greatly improved," (Lords, 4288).—"The whole country (the district of Tipperah) is cultivated like a garden,* there is not a spot of ground where they could feed a bullock on, scarcely," (4279).

These may be unpalateable truths for Mr. Crawfurd and Mr. Rickards; but for public gratification I will proceed with a few more demonstrations of the *tyrannical* government of the East-India Company.

W. Malcolm Fleming, an Indian judge, was asked (Lords, 1141):

"Did the country improve during the time you were acquainted with it?—Very much."

"1141. Both in population and in wealth?—Yes.

"1150. Did it appear to you that there was more agricultural capital in the country when you left it than when you went to it?—Yes; certainly, much more.

"1152. Was there more applied to the cultivation of land?—Yes.

"1153. Was there more applied to manufactures or trade?—I do not think that there was; but there was a great deal more land brought into cultivation.

"1154. Did the people appear to you more comfortable than when you first knew it?—Much more so.

"1155. Were the zemindars becoming rich?—I do not know that they were becoming rich, they were becoming much more extravagant.

"1156. Did their extravagance induce them to obtain European luxuries?—No; I do not think it did."

Mr. Christian described the whole country to be improved, and, with reference to the upper provinces, particularly stated, that "cultivation has extended very considerably," (Lords, 905).

Mr. R. D. Mangles, says—

* Vide conclusion of the chapter, on "Revenue," for Mr. J. Cobbett's similar description of cultivation under the metayer system in Italy.

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"The incomes of the proprietors of land in the lower provinces, taken on the average, are equal to the government revenue; all agricultural produce has risen very considerably, and the extension of cultivation is very great," (Lords, p. 59).

Mr. Sullivan describes the "progress of population, increase of stock, improvements in agriculture, and the creation of capital employed in different works in Coimbatoor," (Commons, 679).

Mr. Rickards himself admits the "efforts of the government for the encouragement of agriculture," (2809).

Mr. Fortescue describes the "population of the Delhi territory as rapidly increasing," (Lords, 459); and in another place thus depicts the blessings which have resulted from the occupation of the country by the East-India Company.

"426. Did the people appear to be satisfied with the administration of justice?—I do think they were particularly so.

"427. Has the revenue increased in that country of late years, since we first got possession of it?—Extremely; almost beyond calculation.

"428. And the population?—Yes; and the population also. When we took possession there were about 600 deserted villages; When I came away, there were about 400 of them that had been re-peopled again, chiefly by the descendants of those who had a proprietary right in those villages, and this in consequence of our administration!" (March 1830, Lords).

While on the subject of deserted villages, I cannot help directing the reader's attention to an Appendix in Sir John Malcolm's Central India, in which will be seen detailed accounts of the villages restored, or rather recovered from the tigers and wild animals who were their sole inmates. The total of khalsa or government villages re-peopled in Holkar's country, were—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1818 | number | 269 |
| 1819 | | 343 |
| 1820 | | 508 |

Leaving of villages uninhabited, but since peopled, 543.

In Dhar, the restorations of villages were—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1818 | number | 28 |
| 1819 | | 68 |
| 1820 | | 52 |
| Leaving then uninhabited | | 217 |

In Dewas, the villages restored were—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1818 | number | 35 |
| 1819 | | 106 |
| Leaving then uninhabited | | 141 |

In Bhopal, the restorations were—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1817 | number | 965 |
| 1818 | | 302 |
| 1819 | | 249 |
| 1820 | | 267 |
| Leaving untenanted | | 813 |

In many places, not only were hundreds of villages left roofless, but the wretched inhabitants, when returning to them on the establishment of our sway, were devoured by the numerous tigers that overran the country. Capt. Ambrose despatched to his superior authority in 1818, a list of the people killed by these ferocious animals in one district within the year, amounting to eighty-six! The names of the individuals and the villages they belonged to, were stated in the return: Sir John Malcolm says an intelligent native gave the number of men killed by the tigers in 1818, at one hundred and fifty; in consequence of the exertions of Government, much fewer lost their lives in 1819, and in 1820 scarcely any. In several other parts of India also, on the restoration of tranquillity, the tigers disputed with the returning peasantry for the possession of the villages. Such is the country which, within ten or twelve years, has been reclaimed from the lair of wild beasts, and repeopled by men.

Enough has been said to shew the present state of India;—a few words as to its condition under the native

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princes may not be amiss, although the fearful details in the first chapter sufficiently illustrate the unfortunate situation of its inhabitants. Colonel Briggs thus describes the state of Candeish:

4018. "Was it in a very unsettled state when you went there?—It was in a very unsettled state, and had been so for the last thirty years previous to our taking possession of the country. It had been overrun by bands of freebooters; I believe there were at different times about eighty distinct bodies, which had been in the habit of ravaging the country; this was the cause of its being very much depopulated. I think 1,100 out of, I believe, 2,700 villages, for I merely speak from recollection, were rendered *desolate altogether:* and those which remained were open to the pillages of a race of people denominated Bheels. These people are supposed by some to be the aborigines of the country; but they have been for a long period attached to villages as guardians or watchmen, with certain immunities in land and fees from the people themselves. The consequence of those ravages deprived the inhabitants of the means of supporting the Bheels, who went into the hills, and were in the habit of attacking the villages."

Of the Nagpore territories Mr. Jenkins thus speaks:—"I had scarcely arrived at Nagpoor in 1807, before I saw the whole country in a blaze, and almost every village burning within a few miles of the city of Nagpoor, and this going on from year to year!" (Lords, 2197).

Mr. Jenkins stated that the people were very well satisfied with the administration of justice while we had the country; their Lordships then enquired,—

2207. "From your own observation, when you went there had you reason to believe that the people were satisfied with the native government?—*Far from it;* for they had little protection from foreign invasion. The Pindarees were *constantly ravaging* the country; and the Rajah's troops, if they were sent to suppress them, *plundered them;* and the zemindars *plundered the ryots* in the districts immediately near them."

This picture of paradise Mr. Rickards applies to the territories under the government of the East-India Company; do the facts contained in this work prove or dis-

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prove Mr. Rickards' allegations? Mr. Jenkins states, that during the eight or nine years that Nagpoor was under the control of the Company, twelve or fourteen additional banking houses were established, the agricultural class to every appearance possessed more wealth, the expenditure of the Rajah was reduced, and an annual surplus of near five lacs of rupees created.

I might fill pages upon pages with testimony equally as conclusive as that of Colonel Briggs and Mr. Jenkins; I therefore pass on to notice an assertion of Mr. Rickards, that "the value of money in India has not undergone a visible change, and that as the money-prices of grain and other commodities and the wages of labour, have undergone no change since the establishment of the British Government in India, we may conclude that the value of money has, throughout this period, been equally steady," (Vol. I. page 598). I can prove that in this assertion Mr. Rickards has also erred. I here may be permitted to take leave of that gentleman's writings, and in doing so, to express my unfeigned regret that in the hurry of composition, and from a natural warmth of temperament, I fear I may have used harsh language in exposing Mr. Rickards' mis-statements; the preceding chapters were each written in little more than a single day, never perused by any other person, nor reperused by the author until sent to press; there is therefore allowance to be craved, not only for defectiveness of composition, but also for acerbity of language, which in cooler moments, or by older men, would probably not have been used. I know nothing of Mr. Rickards or Mr. Crawfurd but as public men,* they are, I believe, double my age, and have both been long engaged in the stormy conflicts of political warfare; it will be sufficient therefore to add, that in zealously endea-

* Their *private* characters are reputed as estimable.

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vouring to refute the uncandid, unfair, and I must add, ungenerous statements of those individuals, I have had no petty object in view; so far from it, I would indeed obliterate the whole work, although printed up to the present sheet, if I thought it contained a passage which would bear the appearance of being intentionally designed to wound the feelings of any person. The reader, if he has ever had the misfortune to be an author, will pardon this deviation, and proceed with me to my final reply to Mr. Rickards respecting there being no change in the wages of labour or of commodities in India, since the establishment of the British Government. The following table has been prepared by the Statistical Reporter at Bombay, Colonel Sykes, and laid before the Parliamentary Committee whose labours have just closed:

Comparison of the Wages of Artificers and other Public Servants, under the Peishwa's and British Governments in the Dukhein, in 1828 and 1814.

| | Under the British rule in 1828. | Under the Peishwa's in 1814. |
|---|---|---|
| | Monthly Wages. | Monthly Wages. |
| Head carpenter ............ Rupees | 25, 35, and 45 | 15, 20, 40 |
| Common ditto .................... | 15 | 12 |
| Two sawyers ...................... | 15 and 22½ | 8 |
| Head smith ...................... | 25 and 30 | 20 |
| smith ...................... | 15 and 22½ | 12 |
| Head armourer .................... | 30 | 20 |
| File man .......................... | 15 | 12 |
| Hammer man .................... | 6,8 and 13½ | 7 |
| Head leather worker .............. | 15 | 12 |
| Head bricklayer .................. | 25 and 35 | 15 and 20 |
| Tailor ...................... | 9½ | 6 |
| Chief of dooly bearers ............ | 15 and 20 | |
| Groom* .................... | 8 | 5 |
| Camel man ................ | 7 and 9 | 5 |
| Head of Palankeen Hamals ........ | 15 | 10 |

* Under the Peishwa's government, one man attended on two horses, and one man on two camels.

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The Price of Grain, Pulse, and other Articles under the respective Administrations.

| | Under the British rule in 1828. | Under the Peishwas' in 1814. |
|---|---|---|
| | Seers. | Seers. |
| Rice (Putnee) .......... per Rupee | 16 | 12 |
| Ditto (Ambesnor) .................. | 13 | 9½ |
| Wheat.............................. | 18 | 14 |
| Joaree (Andropogon Sporzhum) ...... | 32 | 21 |
| Bajree (Panicum spicatum) .......... | 28 | 17 |
| Dhall (Cytisus Cajan) ............... | 16 | 11 |
| Ghee (clarified butter) .............. | 2 | 1½ |

This table not only refutes Mr. Rickards, but confirms the statements of the several authorities quoted as to the improved condition of the country; for if the price of food be augmented in the Dukhun (or Deckhan) and the rate of wages be simultaneously increased, there can be no stronger proof of prosperity, not only in that part of India referred to, but also in those parts which have been longer under the possession of the East-India Company. Colonel Galloway, adverting to the "increase of cultivation and the high price the husbandman now receives for the produce of his labour" (Law and Constitution of India, p. 198) says, "I have in many parts of the ceded and conquered provinces seen grain selling at twenty-five seers* per rupee, where we were credibly informed by the natives that one hundred and twenty seers, were often even generally procurable for that sum."

As regards Bengal, I made particular inquiry in 1830 on the subject; and the authority from whom I received the following statements, is Dwarkanaut Tagore, than whom no man in Bengal is better qualified to make them. The increase of wealth throughout Bengal† has been most

* A seer is 2 lbs.

† Land is now worth 67 years' purchase of the revenue.

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rapid; notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the agriculturists labour, by the English markets being shut against their raw and manufactured produce, and the great number of artizans thrown out of employment by the introduction of piece goods, &c. from this country, land purchased in Calcutta thirty years ago for fifteen rupees, is now worth, and would readily sell for, three hundred. Ten years ago a labourer in Calcutta received two rupees per month, now he is not satisfied with less than four or five rupees per month,* and there is even a scarcity of workmen; twelve field labourers were formerly to be had for less than one rupee a day, now half that number could not be had at that rate of wages. A cabinet-maker was glad to obtain eight rupees a month, for the exercise of his skill, now he readily obtains sixteen or twenty rupees for the same period; I need not go through the other classes of handicraftsmen or labourers, all have risen in a like proportion; and as to the price of food, it is sufficient to state one article as a criterion: rice, the staff of life in Bengal, was wont to be sold at eight annas (half a rupee) per maund (eighty-two lbs.), its price has increased four-fold, being now averaged at two rupees per maund. In fine, a new order of society has sprung into existence that was before unknown, the country being heretofore divided between the few nobles, in whose hands the wealth of the land was concentrated, and the bulk of the people, who were in a state of abject poverty; from the latter have arisen a middle rank which will form the connecting link between the government and the mass of the nation.

* Mr. Colebrooke says, in 1804 in his Husbandry of Bengal, that "a cultivator entertains a labourer for every plough, and pays him wages, on an average, one rupee per mensem, and in some districts, not half a rupee per mensem;" this was at a period when not one-third of the land of a zemindarry was cultivated, whereas now there is frequently not an acre on an estate untilled.

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The advantages to be derived from this change are incalculable;—whenever such an order of men have been created, freedom and prosperity have followed in their train. Do we need example? Look at England after the Norman conquest, when the people were serfs, and the feudal Barons were the very counterparts of the Indian zemindars; but watch the progress of society up to the Eighth Henry, when wealth became more equally diffused; and continue the view until the power of the middle ranks became so paramount, that the son of a butcher (as some say) dethroned and caused the decapitation of his monarch, making the military republic of England feared and admired by the world.

The country of the foaming Guadalquiver is a melancholy illustration of a nation possessing but two ranks of society, where the most beggarly Asturian, who can support a bare existence without mental or bodily labour, claims the rank of an Hildalgo, and strongly reminds one of the lazy proud "Suwars," so admirably delineated by Bishop Heber, as quoted in the earlier part of this work. Look at Hungary and other places, where the peasantry are sold with the soil; in fact, in every country where there have been only two extremes of society, mental and bodily despotism have supervened. The East-India Company's government have broken through that curse,—they have annihilated a feudalism which has ever marked an age of barbarism. It is true, that society has been levelled; that the slavish dependence of the low, upon the high caste, has been severed; and millions of human beings are now, for the first time, learning to know their own worth; to be conscious that, by industry, talent, and integrity, they may elevate themselves to the foremost rank of society, and "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled," the meanest Indian peasant may hurl defiance at any petty tyrant, who,

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from the insolence of office, alleged hereditary rights, or domineering Brahminical priesthood, may still foolishly think to retain longer in subjection a submissive people, who had, alas! too long licked the dust of the earth.

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# CHAPTER XII.

## SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

THE reader who has done me the honour of perusing the preceding chapters, will not have failed to perceive that strong and salient expressions have accompanied the eliciting of a fact, when conducive to the interests of truth; it is too late now to recall them, whatever regret the author may feel for their appearance; they are, however, but as the chaff to the grain, which although augmenting the bulk deteriorate not the substance, and may be easily given to the idle breeze; but as the sentiments of an individual, when commenting on an authenticated circumstance, from which every person is authorized to draw his own conclusions, may to some bear the semblance of partiality, the author feels it due to himself as well as to the cause of justice to state, that whatever way the Legislature may adjudicate the claims of the Honourable East-India Company, is to him, in his private capacity, a matter of no moment; for, being without the slightest prospect of employment in England, and abhorring a life of idleness, he is impelled to seek, on Continental Europe, a field for the exercise of that political and commercial knowledge which he acquired as a medical officer in his Majesty's navy, or as a private individual in various parts of the globe. Were he actuated by feelings of hostility to a country to which he owes nothing, but for which without arrogance he may say he has exerted himself much,* his

* The author may be permitted to state, that from the commencement to the close of the discussion on the Reform bill, he conducted a popular London Journal (*The United Kingdom*), in which the best and dearest interests of the British public were advocated with a zeal which

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talents, however feeble, would, on mature reflection, be devoted to the downfall of the East-India Company; but though adverse fate may some day place him in opposition to the 'meteor flag,' under which it was once his pride to serve, he cannot help regarding England, with all her faults, as the cradle of civilization, the resting-place of religion, and the asylum of liberty. Apologizing for these prefatory remarks, which it is anxiously hoped will prevent a misconception of motives, the following summary of facts are offered, and respectfully asserted to have been proved in the foregoing pages:

1st. The establishment of the East-India Company was coeval with the dawn of British maritime greatness.

2d. Through many revolving years of internal commotion and foreign war, the East-India Company expended an immense quantity of blood and treasure, in acquiring for England a footing in the eastern hemisphere, and ultimately a splendid dominion, which justly deserves to be termed the brightest jewel in the British diadem.

which has been appreciated by the people of the most remote dependencies of the empire, as attested in their journals; nor did he resign his arduous post until the freedom of England (and with her destiny that of the world) was placed, on what he trusts may prove, an imperishable basis for future prosperity. This exposition is made because the writer is a perfect stranger in Great Britain; and because his own unfortunate country (on whose troubled waters he would gladly pour the oil of peace) may demand his humble exertions. While it is madness on the part of Ministers to enforce the collection of tithe for the *perpetual* support of the Protestant Church in Ireland, the Irish should recollect, that in desiring to be free, they must remember to be just; this would not be accomplished by giving to a landlord a tenth which he had never purchased, or hereditarily acquired. The announcement of Government, that on the demise of existing incumbents, a portion of tithes, as they fall in, would be appropriated to national objects, such as schools, hospitals, and charitable institutions, would tranquillize the country; the attempt to perpetuate them for their present use will cause the shedding of much blood, a severing of the legislative union, and, subsequently, a series of endless disputes, if not of warfare, between both countries! Who, that wishes well to England and Ireland, can calmly contemplate the possibility of such terrible events!

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3d. That, however advantageous to England, such conquests were not made at the expense of humanity; on the contrary, the arms of the Company were ever turned against despotism, and employed for the relief of the feeble, the indigent, and the oppressed.

4th. That to the combined efforts of the East-India Company's capital, skill, and patriotism, England is indebted for the vast commerce which she now enjoys with India and China.*

5th. That since the Legislature in 1814 authorized an open trade with India, no pains have been spared by the East-India Company to extend the commerce between both countries.

6th. That the declining export trade from India to England, has been caused by Parliament retaining prohibitory duties on the raw and manufactured produce of the former country, with one exception (indigo).

7th. That by examining the *quantity* as well as the value of the trade between England and India, it will be seen (allowing for fortuitous and propitious events, which arose in 1815) no actual increase of commerce has taken place.

8th. That the great sale of cotton goods in the East has been caused by annihilating the trade of many thousand Hindoos, and not in consequence of any unforeseen markets having been created.

9th. That the Hindoos justly complain, that while the ports of their country are open for many articles of English produce, duty free, the remainder being subject to a very slight import tax, the markets of Great Britain are virtually closed against their staples, (sugar, coffee,

* Vide the summing up chapter of "the Past and Present State of the Tea Trade of England, and of the Continents of Europe and America."

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rum, &c.) and the means of repairing the injury done to the native manufacturers denied them.

10th. That for England to demand the right of supplying the Hindoos with Liverpool salt, would (independent of its violation of native prejudices) be the means of throwing one million of Hindoos out of employment, and necessitate the Bengal and Madras governments to obtain a revenue on some other articles equal to that now lightly and uninquisitorially collected.

11th. That the assertions put forth respecting the condition of Molunghees, or salt manufacturers are untrue.

12th. That with reference to 'Colonization,' the natives of India are averse to it; that the object of the Company in prohibiting the purchase of land by Europeans in India, or their indiscriminate resort thereto, has not been from any selfish considerations, but with a view to preserve their subjects in the undisputed possession of their landed property, and to prevent a violation of their prejudices or feelings.

13th. That the landed revenue of Hindostan is neither so oppressive in its nature nor so exorbitant in amount as has been frequently stated; that its reduction is impracticable, and its substitution for an excise, income, or house-tax, impossible, and that the revenue and debt of India is, in proportion to the population, less than that of any state in Europe or America.

14th. That the Company's Government have done every thing in reason to extend the blessings of a well conducted press, to enlighten the people entrusted to their care, and to check inhuman or immoral practices.

15th. That free political institutes, however advantageous to a country, are not the sole means of improving it.



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16th. That in admitting the natives of India to high appointments of trust, the Governments have unavoidably been compelled by reason of the varied nature of the population, their personal antipathies, peculiar manners, and especially in consequence of the demoralizing effects of centuries of despotism, to be cautious in reducing an acknowledged principle to practice.

17th. That in the execution of civil law, the customs, religious rites, and cherished institutions of the natives have been sedulously maintained; that justice has been purely, cheaply, and, as readily as peculiar circumstances would admit, expeditiously administered.

18th. That the criminal laws of India are wisely adapted to the end in view, by being humane in punishment, but speedy and certain in execution; their efficiency and that of the police being tested by the extraordinary diminution of crime which statistical tables exhibit.

19th. That official documents and unimpeachable testimony demonstrate the improved and improving condition of the Hindoos.

20th. That the home government of India is a triple power, wisely balanced and judiciously conducted, without vesting dangerous authority in the crown, while the patronage thereof is disposed of with safety and advantage to the state.

21st. That the foreign Government, while enjoying a wide exercise of power, is subjected to well regulated checks from the constituted authorities at home, who exercise a vigilant control over all its proceedings.

22d. That the Indian army, although not larger than is required for the maintenance of order within, and the defence of aggression from without, is too great to be amalgamated with his Majesty's army (independent of

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almost insuperable obstacles) without threatening the breaking up of the social liberties of Englishmen.

23d. That, reasoning from analogy and past history, a subversion of the mode by which the Anglo-Eastern empire is at present ruled, would destroy the well poised balance now existing between the British crown and its subjects, an inclination to either side being fatal to the existing constitution of the country; and——

May that Supreme Being, whose mercy is as boundless as his wisdom is infinite,—in whose will is the destiny of of kingdoms,—and who has seen fit in his Omnipotence to make a small Island in the Atlantic, mistress of one of the richest empires on earth,—may He in so momentous a crisis direct the councils of this nation, and bestow on them that knowledge, without which the strength of man is as a reed,—his words as the passing wind,—his decrees as tinkling cymbal or sounding brass!

THE END

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